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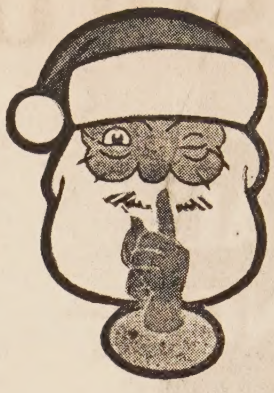

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BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY, M.A.
University College, Dublin

OUR world is haunted by the ever-present spectre of an ultimate Great War—a vast catastrophe in which all the stored-up treasures of civilisation will be destroyed, and after which mankind, its memory of its past achievements faded to a dim legend, will sink back into sparse and penurious savagery. Men who thirty or forty years ago would have belonged to the type which proudly described itself as "non-political" now find themselves attracted by this universal uneasiness into organisations whose forewarnings almost make real in the present the horrors they purport to guard against for the future. Pacifism has become for many a positive philosophy, or rather a religion into which they have transferred the evangelistic fervour of other doctrines now relegated to the background. War is denounced as if it were a new sin more horrible than any known or committed before. Responsibility for its occurrence is attributed to the deliberate machinations of small groups, or even of individuals, who are credited with an extraordinary mixture of recklessness and foresight, of greed and destructiveness.

The truth is that most of the pacifist propaganda with which we are familiar fails completely either to account for the admittedly very serious dangers inherent in modern war or to face clearly its real causes with any firm will to end them. As a result of these failures, superficiality and sensationalism tend to undo any good effects that the propaganda might conceivably bring about. Modern war is not more hideous than former wars by reason of the sufferings it involves for both combatants and non-combatants. In spite of air raids and gas bombs, most people would still rather take their chances as civilians if they could than seek comparative safety among the soldiers. Those who have read of the invasions

of the Mongols, the Hundred Years' War, the devastation of Munster by Carew and Mountjoy, the sack of Magdeburg, or the " wild and desperate wickedness " which tarnished the heroism of the captors of Badajoz, will hardly need to imagine any further horrors for their vision of the catastrophe to come.

War was always a terrible thing. What gives its modern variety its especial terror is not the atrocities that accompany it or the wounds and death that it deals, but the fact that modern technique has enormously accelerated its destructiveness in proportion to the time and distance involved. In other words, it is immensely more dangerous in a crowded and comparatively small area like Europe than it would be if fought across oceans between continent and continent. Civilisation is in real and serious peril from a war between European states or a war fought out in Europe in which other states might be implicated. It is in no real peril from a war between America and Japan, or between even Europe and America, because the distances, and therefore the time, involved are still so great in these latter cases that a decision might well be reached before either side could do irreparable damage to the other. In relation to modern weapons and means of transport, Europe has sunk to a scale even smaller by comparison than ancient Greece or Northern Italy at the Renaissance. A modern European war would have all the effects of the worst civil wars of former times, fought in small areas between homogeneous peoples.

The reason for the excessive fears now felt about war is thus narrowed down to one particular kind of war. There is no doubt that war between European Great Powers, fought in Europe, might easily bring about the end of European civilisation. It would certainly go a very long way to deprive Europe of her still undoubted cultural and economic leadership of the world. Not only would its material consequences be out of all proportion to any possible issues involved, but its moral effects would be still worse. The great war of 1914-18 proved this beyond doubt. We have all become familiar with the idea that the right to use force

within the state or community must be carefully restricted in the common interest. Although, for reasons to be later examined, Europe is at the moment almost more divided than ever before, yet the very destructiveness of the weapons now at the disposal of mutually hostile nation-states has made them begin to realise that Europe is a single community. An injury inflicted by one of its component parts on another is nowadays very speedily found to be an injury self-inflicted. What creates the ever-present uneasiness of to-day is the fact that local quarrels and local interests still seem stronger than the impetus towards European unity, and the fact that the champions of these local quarrels and interests have at their disposal armaments that should only be used by the European society as a whole. The effect is much the same as that which must have been produced on the minds of harmless Chicago citizens if the gang-wars were ever as bad as the cinema represented them.

What is therefore unthinkable in present circumstances, what no conceivable victory would make worth-while, is not war in general, but war between European states; and not war because of air raids and poison-gases, but war because aeroplanes and artillery might have utterly destroyed the European community as we know it, before they had achieved any real military result. In his great work, *The Study of History*, published last year, Professor Arnold Toynbee drew a very striking and suggestive comparison between twentieth-century Europe, fifteenth-century Italy, and Greece in the third century B.C. In each case, as he shows, the original centre of civilisation had produced by a kind of radiation beyond its frontiers, a whole series of peripheral states which, while sharing in the civilisation of the centre, were still relatively in a semi-barbarous condition. Thus the Hellenic community in the third century B.C. produced the great kingdoms of the East and the half-Hellenized republics of Carthage and Rome. So, too, in the fifteenth century A.D., the civilisation of France, England, and Germany was in large measure a radiation from that of the North Italian city-states. From the sonnet to the table-fork, cultivated folk in

the three great transalpine powers borrowed elements of their culture from Italy. So again in our own century, European culture, now more technical and less cultivated, has radiated round the world and produced the cultures of the United States, Soviet Russia, and Japan, to name only three of the great states which now stand to Europe as Carthage or Rome once stood to Greece. The parallel is remarkably complete, so far as it has gone; it remains to be seen whether modern Europe is to continue on the way of ancient Greece and Renaissance Italy.

As Professor Toynbee points out, the fatal contrast between periphery and centre in each of the two former cases was that whereas the central nucleus was split into small mutually hostile city-states, the great powers of the periphery were what we should now call national in scale. This contrast gave the latter an enormous economic and therefore military advantage. Its effects, both in Greece and Italy, were that the surrounding great powers were tempted to make the centre a battle-ground and thus ultimately to exhaust its radiating capacity. Had Aratus of Sicyon not called in the Macedonians —one of the great powers of the circumference—to crush Cleomenes of Sparta in the third century B.C., and thus undone at a stroke his own life-work of unification and consolidation, it is possible that the Greek states of the centre might themselves have formed a great power which could have held its own among the wars between Rome and the Eastern monarchies. Had Macchiavelli, as Florentine Secretary of State, been able to carry into practice his theories about Italian unity, the work of Cavour might have been anticipated by three hundred years, and Italy might have had the political power among European states to which her cultural supremacy entitled her. It was in both cases the incapacity to achieve political unity that led to the exploitation and ultimate impoverishment of the highly civilised centre by the comparatively barbarous surrounding powers.

Now, just as Greece and Italy in these distant epochs had the misfortune to remain at the stage of the city-state while encircled by national units which grew ever more powerful,

so modern Europe is in danger of remaining at the stage of the national unit while becoming encircled by powers organized on a continental scale. The United States and Russia are the most striking examples of such powers; but Japan, with her mastery over Manchukuo and her increasing pressure upon China, has in her turn transcended merely national limits. Modern warfare, with all its horrors, is a far less serious thing for these gigantic powers, covering vast distances and likely to remain for long inaccessible to the attacks of air-fleets, than it has become for the national states of Europe, whose vital centres are situated within immediate striking-range of their frontiers. This consideration applies not least to Great Britain, whose "far-flung battle-line" has no longer a fraction of the significance for her life that is possessed by the now incurably vulnerable manufacturing and urban centres of her homeland. Mr. Baldwin's recent dictum that "England's frontier is henceforth the Rhine," is the expression of a truism whose immensely far-reaching consequences have yet to be drawn. If the present exasperated national differences of Europe should persist, complicated (exactly as were the differences between the city-states of Hellenistic Greece) by the continual threat of social revolution, there can be nothing more certain than that the rôle of ancient Macedon will yet be played out again by modern Russia, and that the broken and impoverished congeries of national states which once formed the proud nucleus of the world's scientific culture will fall back, after a period as plaything or battleground for the super-great powers of the future, into the helpless stagnation of Roman Greece and the Italy of the early nineteenth-century tourist.

These considerations lead to the conclusion that the political philosophy needed by the modern European is not general evangelistic pacifism, not rabid nationalism founded on false and childish theories of racial superiority, and not blind adhesion to the legalistic framework of an all-embracing League of Nations whose charter is the monument of a callous and short-sighted treaty of peace, but a philosophy deriving from the reality of a European society. The community of interests between European countries, in spite of political

quarrels, tariff barriers, and the fitful and belated pre-occupation of Great Britain with the idea of a world-wide Empire, is a reality which grows more obvious day by day. In every country those concerned with policy should study under a steady light the causes which underlie European internal differences and seek the best means available for their removal. The great task of the nineteenth century was the undoing of the Treaty of Vienna. The task of the twentieth must be the undoing of the Treaty of Versailles and the erection on a more stable basis of the European federation without which Europe will certainly go under and the world enter upon a new Dark Age. National statesmanship may shudder at the prospect of having to abolish suicidal national rivalries by the only method which will avail—the generous and whole-hearted admission of inter-European equality, no longer as a piously offensive fiction but as a programme of wise and generally beneficial action. It is quite certain that few national statesmen, even those who have begun to play gingerly with the idea, have any very clear conception of the concessions and the accommodations it must necessarily involve.

In the long run the great injustice of the Versailles Treaty, beside which even the reckless dismemberment of Eastern Europe is insignificant, was the fact that it purported to give the sanction of law and the sacredness of unalterable right to inequalities as between European nations in the possession of extra-European resources whose present distribution is unrelated to any principle of right whatever. The seizure of German colonies under the fiction of a " mandatory " system was the most glaring instance of such injustice. That it has not been merely an injustice towards the defeated is proved by the present Abyssinian dispute, in which Italy, now become a first-rank power and seeking expansion as Bismarck's Germany sought it, is forbidden with the most solemn parade of high-sounding legal and ethical arguments to do exactly what France did in Morocco or Great Britain in the Sudan little more than thirty years ago, in days when the doctrine of *uti possidetis* had not yet been erected into an eternal moral law. It is not a justification

of Italian or any other imperialism to point out that if two wrongs do not make a right, neither does one, and that before Britain and France can become entitled, whether in the name of a League of Nations or otherwise, to prohibit Italian imitation of their own acts, they must first restore Morocco and the Sudan to their former rulers or the heirs thereof; not to enter upon the long and grim catalogue of other acquisitions made in defiance of obligations as solemn as any Covenant.

Mussolini has undoubtedly acted wrongly and done a real disservice to the cause of European unity in reviving for the alleged benefit of Italy the militaristic and imperialist policy of the nineteenth-century nation-states. His alternative would have been less spectacular and would have lent itself less well to foolish oratory about the grandeur of a Roman Empire now irretrievably dead, but it could have inaugurated a new era of hope for Italy and Europe together. It was open to him, as it is still open to real European statesmanship, to show that the principal reason for unrest in Europe is the unequal distribution, upon no basis of right, of colonial territories. He could have given a lead which would have been surely followed, and put his present mentors in the dock in face of a vitally interested continent, by asserting the new principle that colonial possessions have in future to be justified, not alone by the enlightened and Christian treatment of native races, or by sound and fair economic exploitation of their resources, but also, and equally, by the rights and interests of European society as a whole. Such a case, vigorously made and followed by the creation of a European public opinion, would have been far more than a mere academic debating point. It would have been the announcement of what must become the concerted policy of twentieth-century statesmanship.

The carefully-phrased offer made by the British Foreign Secretary at Geneva on September 11th of this year is a clear symptom, for all its coyness, of a new departure in colonial policy. However the Abyssinian war may turn out, it is absolutely certain both that more will be heard of this offer and that it will prove to be the very thin edge of a very big wedge. Sir Samuel Hoare announced, rather to the surprise

of those who paid any attention to this part of his statement, that his Government were prepared to consider, in common with other countries, measures which will permit of equal access to the resources of the colonies in raw materials. In one aspect, of course, this announcement did not go very far beyond the traditional but now abandoned British policy of free trade. In the new world of trade barriers and currency fluctuations, however, its significance is really far wider than this. Considered in the light of demands previously made and proposals formulated both at the League and outside it, even the cautious adhesion of Great Britain to a limited policy of European colonial co-operation acquires a new importance. As long ago as 1920 a predecessor of Mussolini, Signor Tittoni, pointed out in a " vibrant appeal " to the League the great inequality between European nations in respect of colonial resources and called for a control and an equitable distribution of raw materials. That similar ideas have gained much ground in France during the intervening years is shown in a remarkable book[1] published in 1933 by an economist and ex-member of the Government Council for the Protectorate of Morocco.

In this book, after a valuable and well-documented study of the history of European emigration, it is shown that both politically and economically the whole African continent nowadays belongs to the European system. The Union of South Africa is, of course, only an apparent exception, especially since the Ottawa Conference of 1933. This immense territory, greater in extent than Europe or Asia and extremely under-populated in comparison with either of them, is owned in its entirety—apart from Abyssinia, Liberia, and the intermediate cases of Egypt and the Union—by six European powers ; and of these six, two alone, France and England, hold more than two-thirds of its area and more than half its people, a large proportion of what is left being comprised in the very wealthy Belgian Congo. Taken in conjunction with the statistics of emigration, this partition of Africa is

[1] *L'Afrique, Champ d'Expansion de l'Europe.* Par E.-L. Guernier. Paris : Armand Colin. 1933. 25 fr.

especially striking. The European countries from which emigration has always been strongest, Germany and Italy among the first, have only a very slight share or none at all, the former having lost hers as a result of the Great War. The countries which own Africa have either a relatively slight emigration or in the case of France, none, for France has actually received immigrants in great numbers during the decade from 1920 to 1930. A concomitant and in all probability a result of this state of things is that the three great colonial powers are lenders of capital, while those which have few or no colonies are borrowers. After a careful calculation, based upon reliable geographical researches, M. Guernier concludes that, in spite of disadvantages caused by the climate, Africa includes enough habitable territory to be able to receive fifteen to twenty million European immigrants, while at the same time permitting of a rise in the native standards of living out of all proportion to present conditions. As in recent years the rough average of emigration from Europe has been about six hundred thousand people per year, it follows that Africa could meet requirements in this respect for a long time to come.

Nothing in M. Guernier's able and eloquent book is more impressive than its picture of Africa's actual and potential wealth. Because of its unique situation, having large territories equidistant from the Equator north and south—the Cape has a climate and products very similar to those of the Mediterranean—the continent is capable both of almost complete self-sufficiency and of a manifold increase in its economic productivity if only endowed with a transport system on modern lines. Its productive possibilities are best shown by the Katanga copper-mines of the Congo, whose output, in spite of most formidable difficulties, quadrupled itself between 1920 and 1930. These possibilities are by no means confined to mere raw materials, for both agriculture and industries have continued to develop even during the world economic crisis. But in fact Africa is still very much virgin soil, and will need European machinery and manufactured articles of all kinds for many years to come. M. Guernier's plea is for a rational plan for "la mise en valeur de l'Afrique." In an

instructive chapter he shows that the old haphazard, selfish and crude methods of exploitation will no longer suffice, and suggests that what is now essential is the application to all Africa of Lyautey's methods in Morocco. In a word, these methods amount to co-operation between European and native for the immediate raising of the latter's standard of life to the ultimate profit of both. Such co-operation should by no means be merely economic; it must, if good results are to accrue, be intellectual and spiritual as well. Besides railways and roads Africa needs most of all evangelisation, education, and sanitation. M. Guernier devotes special sections to each, and it is worthy of note that the Irish missionaries come in for their share of honourable mention, though he grossly underestimates their numbers.

His suggestions for the carrying out of his plan are very pertinent to our present subject. He points out that a redistribution of raw materials is not nearly enough, but must be accompanied by a redistribution of orders for European manufactured goods. Such economic measures could easily enough be put in force by means of agreements, such as are already common in Europe, between the organisations for production and distribution. But more is needed than mere trade agreements. There is the recruitment of the trained personnel required for the expanding African services of all kinds and the supply of emigrants for areas capable of supporting Europeans. Finally, there is the all-important problem of political control, of which M. Guernier has little to say. It is obvious that both these problems have to be solved on a basis of complete European co-operation, if his programme as a whole is to be realised. The exclusive control by England and France of territories acquired for the most part by treaties which only confer the right to guardianship must somehow be altered, and such injustices as French conscription of native races must become a thing of the past. Imperialist exploitation must be superseded by inter-European control of all colonial Africa, and by the co-operation of all European states in its economic, intellectual and political development. It might be necessary to give compensation

to vested interests likely to be affected by such a sweeping change; but only if the change is made can nations with a surplus emigrant population combine with the capitalist nations in a task which will be to the profit and credit of all alike.

One of the incidental dangers of a European war is that it will be accompanied or ended by far-reaching social upheavals which may be the immediate cause of an ultimate collapse. This danger arises chiefly from the economic insecurity which has been such a marked feature of the last fifteen years. The attempts at national economic planning have for the most part merely intensified the evil, because inevitably they have been on too small a scale. The European economic system, like European civilisation, is or should be treated as a unit, and its modern extension to the whole African continent justifies the use by M. Guernier of the new term "Eurafrica." The co-ordination and consolidation of this unity is the theme of another very significant book, this time the work of an Italian Senator, which appeared in 1934 and has recently been published in an English translation.[1] Signor de Michelis proposes the application of the Italian corporative idea to the problem of developing backward European nations and of organising the African colonial field, which he sees to be but parts of the same task. His book covers the same ground as that of M. Guernier, and there is indeed a remarkable identity in their conclusions. The Italian writer has been President both of the International Institute of Agriculture and of the International Labour Office, and in the latter capacity he has been putting forward since 1931 proposals, now embodied in his book, for "the adjustment of movements of population with a view to exploiting the resources of the world." His proposals have been the subject of much discussion at Geneva and have met with considerable approval. It is to be hoped that the relapse to imperialist methods in Abyssinia will not cause their thorough examination to be too long postponed.

Exponents of the policy of sanctions have defended it frequently by a very pessimistic argument. The League, they

[1] Giuseppe de Michelis: *World Reorganisation on Corporative Lines.* London: Allen and Unwin. 1935. 10s. net.

say, is nearly sure to die in any case, but impunity for the action of Italy in Abyssinia would certainly kill it. There is surely a way out between these gloomy and scarcely distinguishable alternatives. It is that an attempt should be made to reconstitute the League, which has sorely needed reconstruction ever since America abandoned it in its infancy, and to do so first of all on a European basis. A European League—with the exclusion of Russia, which is in the present body for no good purpose and ought to have its hands full elsewhere, and of the other non-European powers whose membership is of little present consequence—would be the best foundation both for the settlement of the colonial problem and for an ultimate inter-continental League of World States. To such a European League, either by a system of mandates or some similar arrangement, could be entrusted the supervision of all European colonial territories in Africa. The present mandates system, founded as it is on the spoliation of Germany, is unjust at its roots, however admirable may be the machinery and the technique it has created, and it still leaves openings for one-sided exploitation. The same machinery and technique, reformed and strengthened, could well be used to give a new charter of peace, order and progress to the whole of Africa and to guarantee to all European peoples an equal opportunity, no longer for a primitive and un-Christian scramble in pursuit of illusory gains, but for healthy and well-regulated expansion.

It is recognised, in theory at least, that the first condition for any lasting success in the task of civilising Africa is protection for the native peoples. A European authority, disposing of the best expert advice, could carry to complete fruition the policy of assistance to native self-development adopted by Lyautey and more and more favoured by the British colonial administration. It might go far to solve the problem always so menacing to the Union of South Africa, that of dealing with the surplus native population. Internal migration and the settlement of homogeneous native groups in territories less suitable to white men, but capable of exploitation, under guidance, by native industry, would probably help very much to allay the present growing discontents.

There are large areas in Central Africa which, with modern sanitation, transport, and agricultural methods, could maintain enormously greater negro populations than they now hold. But the first item in any such policy must be " Africa for the Africans under the trusteeship of civilised Europe."

No doubt the difficulties of such proposals as these are enormously great—not in the sense that the proposals would be hard to work, but that it would be far from easy to get them adopted. There is the double danger that the democratic governments of Britain and France will be too fearful of the selfish instincts of their electorates to consider loosening their grip on what they have, and that the dictatorial governments of Germany and Italy may look on concessions in the colonial sphere as useless unless given the right to new territories in the old absolute imperial sense. Such an attitude as this last would of course mean an increase rather than a diminution in the danger of an ultimate European war, in which the " Herrenvolk " and the heirs of the Roman Empire would use their expanded powers to their own and everybody else's destruction. The facts themselves are not unlikely to overcome the first of the difficulties mentioned. All depends on whether any statesman or organisation will undertake the task of bringing home to the electorates of France and England the certain fact that their only real safety from the horrors of war is in a generous policy of European solidarity. In recent months Catholic voices have been raised in both countries to plead for a Christian foreign policy. Here is a case where courageous acceptance of Christian principles and the abandonment of legalist hypocrisies is certain to bring not only a spiritual but a material reward. The second difficulty is largely a matter of approach. Any offer of colonial co-operation should be accompanied by provisions which will insure joint European control and rule out national aggrandisement, and which will require those participating in the enormous benefits of such a scheme to abandon racial persecution as an instrument of their internal policy. This last provision might cause some outcry, but the inducements would be strong enough to secure its ultimate acceptance.

A policy of European solidarity, founded on colonial co-operation and aiming at the substitution of peaceful cultural emulation for economic and national-imperial rivalry, is one whose defect is not that it is impracticable but that it is founded on good hope. At Versailles the greatest evil was done by compromise between the false idealism of Wilson and the cynicism of Clemenceau. Either real international idealism or a clear-headed policy of definitely undoing Bismarck's work might have given better results than the pharasaical and futile mixture which still provides Leagues of Nations Societies with the mockery of a reason for their attenuated existence. Men are at last beginning to see that not world-abstractions but European realities are the material for the thought and action of Europeans. In the creation of a European commonwealth Ireland also can play her own small part, and from European co-operation in the colonies she can draw her appropriate profit. Unlike Portugal, Belgium and other small nations, Ireland, whose uniqueness in the matter of emigration is duly stressed by M. Guernier, has never possessed a colony of her own. It is perhaps as well that she has missed an opportunity to add an original paragraph to the long chapter of European misgovernment and exploitation. In present circumstances she has neither the opportunity nor the desire to make up for lost ground. The emigration of her workers to America seems to be at an end, but that of her doctors, missionaries and engineers to all parts of the colonial world is as great as ever. The best hope for the future of Irish overseas emigration is that her sons can take their due place in an ordered and rational plan of European expansion which will at the same time guarantee the supremacy in Europe of justice and peace.

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# TWO MORE YEARS OF THE SPANISH REPUBLIC

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## I

A LITTLE over two years ago I contributed an article to STUDIES which traced the course of events in Spain under the Second Republic down to the promulgation of the Law of Religious Congregations in June, 1933, with special reference to the religious situation.[1] The period which has elapsed since that article was written has been full of activity and productive of many changes—some of them beneficial to the progress of Spain and others very much the reverse. The imminence of a General Election, which will no doubt be followed by a drastic revision of the Constitution of 1931, makes this a suitable moment to attempt a further survey. In it I shall pass briefly over the details of the revolts of October, 1934, since these have been the subject of a special article,[2] and I shall venture to devote a somewhat larger proportion of the space at my disposal to the events of the last six months; for, owing to the transcendent interest aroused by the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, Spanish affairs have not been receiving as much attention in the press as was the case previously.

My last article was written and published in what proved to be the final months of a Government formed almost exclusively by deputies of the Left and predominantly Socialistic in its workings. The " partial " municipal elections, held on April 23, 1933, had returned over 10,000 candidates opposed to the Government as against 6,000 of its supporters. It required

[1] In a prefatory note to this article (September, 1933, pp. 361–72) I attempted to define my own position as that of a constant visitor to Spain and a close observer of Spanish affairs in no way connected with any party or organization and endeavouring to give as objective an account of the political and religious situation as is possible.

[2] " The Spanish Crisis," by Patrick McBride, March, 1935, pp. 43–59.

no great insight to predict that the Conservative Republicans would "win sweeping victories at the next general elections and hold power for some years." The anxiety of Sr. Azaña, the then Prime Minister, to postpone the elections for as long as possible, the fact that the women's vote was to be exercised in parliamentary politics for the first time, and, above all, the intense unpopularity, among the masses, of the Government's Socialistic legislation and tyrannical treatment of its opponents: all these considerations, and others, made a heavy defeat of the Left practically certain. But there were signs, not recognizable by those acquainted with Spanish affairs from the outside only, that the temper of the nation was cooling and that the invasion of the Cortes by the Right would not be comparable with the remarkable incursions of the Left at the first general elections held under the Republic two years earlier. For this reason I wrote that "an immediate or a spectacular reaction" should not be expected, and added that in my view such a reaction was no more desirable than likely. I may perhaps be allowed here briefly to maintain that opinion. Anyone who has read Spanish history since the Napoleonic era and who has at heart the welfare of Spain as a whole, rather than the dominance of any one party, will realize that what she most needs is a slowing down of reaction, peace within as well as without her borders, and a long period of moderate government. An enormous landslide on the 1933 elections would no doubt have brought about the immediate repeal of anti-clerical measures (though it could not legally have modified the 1931 Constitution), but such action would inevitably have been accompanied by a widespread assignment of "responsibilities," banishments, imprisonments and (to judge from what actually happened) executions. Even leaving aside the possibility of a change of *régime*, and perhaps a new change on the next emotional rebound, such drastic events would undoubtedly have set the pendulum swinging more violently than ever and could not have had lasting results.

The autumn of 1933 saw the fall of Sr. Azaña and the prophecy of my last article was fulfilled by the elections held

n the November. The parties of the Left found themselves vith only 99 representatives as against 291 in the Constituent Cortes of 1931. The Right, which in the preceding Parliament had numbered only 42, came back with 207. These were the figures which everybody knew and quoted. But the deciding factor of the situation was the increase of 31 in the representation of the Centre group (from 136 to 167)—not a remarkable increase in itself but a sign that moderate opinion was gaining ground and a sufficient guarantee that the swing of the pendulum would gradually diminish in force. For whereas, in the last Cortes, the strongest group—the Left—had an absolute majority of 113 over the other two combined, the numbers now gave the Right, though the strongest group of the three, a minority of nearly 60 should Left and Centre combine against it. Obviously the Centre group must govern, which, had those additional 31 votes been available for the Right, it would hardly have been in a position to do. There was much discontent after the elections among extremists of both categories, but the general feeling throughout the country was, so far as it could be assessed, one of relief. The worst excesses of the past two years could now be remedied and there was little danger of passionate reprisals.

## II

As one looks back over the two years of government by the Centre and the various Centre-Right coalitions which have from time to time been formed, and are still being formed, it must be admitted that the period has not been as happy as might reasonably have been expected. True, the revolutionaries of October, 1934, were quelled with a decisiveness which surprised even some of the Government's own supporters and which did much to dispel any possible doubts as to the security of the *régime*. True, again, the almost daily revolutionary stories which adorned the calendar of the Socialist biennium have almost disappeared, and the newspapers have no longer to set aside two or three pages in each issue for accounts of social disorders. The abortive

October revolts, however, have caused a disorganization which goes far deeper than may at first sight appear. It will be noticed that they stand almost exactly half-way in the period under survey, and one has only to compare the first of the two years—a year of pacification and reconstruction—with the second—a year of partial liquidation and uneasy apprehensions as to the future—to appreciate the change of atmosphere. Another debit item is the uncertainty of the parliamentary coalition, which has produced a political situation dangerously comparable with that under the Monarchy in the years immediately preceding the Dictatorship of 1923. There have been seven governments since Sr. Lerroux took office in November, 1933—a period, at the time of writing, of less than two years: four of them under Sr. Lerroux himself and three under politicians far less experienced and able: one under Sr. Samper and two under Sr. Chapaprieta. No one knows if the latest combination, formed only at the end of October, can possibly last even for the few months which will elapse before the issue of Constitution revision plunges the unhappy country once more into a general election.

The eleven months between the election of 1933 and the revolts of the following October were, though on the whole quiet, by no means devoid of incident. Less than three weeks after the polling, a series of revolutionary strikes culminated in an anarcho-syndicalist revolt, which had been carefully planned to break out simultaneously in many parts of the country. From La Coruña in the north-west to Granada in the south-east attempts were made to intimidate the Government by acts of terrorism. In the north the brunt of the attack was borne by the long-suffering Civil Guard; in other parts of the country, notably at Granada and Calatayud, the rebels returned to their old pastime of burning convents and churches. But, as in the following October, the rapidity with which the revolt was put down gave great encouragement to constitutionalists: in little more than forty-eight hours nothing was left of it but a few general strikes in the provincial capitals. Its most alarming

feature was the breadth over which it operated. Efficient organization is always a formidable opponent for a government to cope with in Spain.

As soon as the Cortes re-assembled, with Sr. Lerroux as Prime Minister, it became clear that, whoever might be nominally at the head of the Government, the dominating power would be the young Catholic leader, José María Gil Robles. In the very first political debate of the session, Sr. Gil Robles, representing the C.E.D.A. (confederated parties of the Right), expressed his intention of taking office if the Radical coalition, in which eight out of the thirteen ministers were members of Sr. Lerroux' party, should prove unable to govern. At the same time, he proposed to support the Government as far as was possible, as indeed he has done both from within and without the Cabinet. Barely forty years of age and with but little experience of government, Sr. Gil Robles is undoubtedly the least known factor in the political situation in Spain. Sooner or later, he can hardly fail to become Prime Minister and many of his supporters hope for great things of him.

The C.E.D.A. [wrote Don Francisco Casares, in a recent book] *is* Gil Robles. All Spain has its eyes fixed upon him. In the whole political field there is not a similar personality. No politician has ever risen more rapidly to popularity and leadership. His organizing talents created "Acción Popular." His personal courage, sincerity and constancy enabled him to direct that movement almost from the moment of the proclamation of the Republic, at a time when it was really perilous to proclaim oneself an adherent of the Right, and when many who have since set themselves up to define and direct traditionalist opinion were hiding their heads and giving no sign of their existence. His gifts as a fighter at once brought him to the fore in the Constituent Cortes. His gifts as a speaker, completely different from those of the commonplace political orator, have won him the support of the masses. His blows come straight from the shoulder, without feints or hesitations. No less clear and incisive is his political vision. His programme is characterized by equity and social justice. Sooner or later it must prevail.

This is admittedly the eulogy of a party politician; but even his opponents must admit, on their side, that it represents the feelings of a large proportion of electors—perhaps of a

national majority. It will be agreed, furthermore, that during the two years in which he has been the leading force in or behind successive governments, he has acquitted himself with efficiency and dignity. Months before the Socialist revolt of October, 1934—as far back as the February of that year—he begged the Government of the day to restrain the revolutionary activities of the Socialists. A firmer hand in February might well have prevented the appalling losses of life in October. On occasions when his views have not prevailed, as during the liquidation of that revolt, he has set members of the former Left coalition a notable example of forbearance. He may not, of course, make good in high office, but the omens are singularly auspicious.

The change of political tone throughout Spain after the 1933 elections was most noticeable—especially to an observer who, like myself, pays regular annual visits to different parts of the country at approximately the same period of the year. It would, I think, be unwise to attach too much intrinsic importance to this change of tone, but it brings at least within the bounds of possibility events which could never have been contemplated during the first two years of the Republic. In Madrid, during the spring of 1934, the newspapers of the Right were being read by everybody; an ex-minister of Primo de Rivera was defending the Dictatorship, and in particular its finances, in the Republican Cortes; a new Monarchical Club was opened with pomp and circumstance; and the reading and publication of a telegram from Ex-King Alfonso declared the Monarchist Youth Group to be "my hope for the salvation of our beloved Spain."

The Monarchist press was now openly discussing the succession to the Spanish throne—but meanwhile there was brewing the Socialist revolt, the most serious outbreak of its kind in the four years of the Republic, which came to a head in October, 1934, upon the reconstruction of the Government and the admission for the first time to the Cabinet of members of the C.E.D.A. For the reason already given I shall pass this over, only staying to say a word about the rebellion in Barcelona, which took place at the same

time as the more sadly famous revolt in Asturias, but was happily more quickly brought to an end.

That great gentleman and gallant soldier Colonel Macià, first president of the Generalitat of Catalonia, had died, in office, on Christmas Day 1933. Of his successor, Senyor Companys, one who knew them both finds it kindest merely to say that, though an active and astute politician, he was in every way an inferior personality; many of his own supporters had grave doubts as to his fitness for the prominent position to which the system of party politics was chiefly responsible for electing him. There seems no doubt that he was coerced by the extremists among his associates into making his declaration—not, as was commonly reported, of an independent Catalan Republic, but of a Catalan State which was to form an integral part of a Federal Spanish Republic: a rather different proposition, as the defending advocates at his trial were able to show. It had been an unfortunate circumstance for the peace of the country that, when the general election of 1933 resulted in defeats for the Left in the rest of Spain, the Catalonian situation was much less profoundly modified. The Lliga Catalana, or Centre-Right party, had no more than 25 members in the new Cortes as against 19 representing the Esquerra, or Left; while in the Catalonian municipal elections of January, 1934, the Esquerra won a comfortable victory. Since the Conservative reaction did not go so far in Catalonia as in the remainder of Spain, opinion was more strongly incensed here than elsewhere at the political events which formed the immediate cause of the rebellion. In any case, had the Lliga been in power, the rebellion would never have taken place.

If the period immediately before the October rebellion was reasonably peaceful from the social standpoint, the same cannot be said of it politically. Readers of this article will not be greatly interested in the shuffling and re-shuffling of cabinets and in the *va-et-vient* of individual ministers. But at the end of April there was a striking scene in the Cortes—again a sign of the times—when the then Minister of Justice, Sr. Alvarez Valdés, permitted himself an outburst

against the Jaca rebellion of 1930. This, it will be remembered, resulted in the court-martialling and shooting of two officers, Galán and García Hernández, who, on the proclamation of the Republic four months later, were at once given all the honours of political martyrs. The Minister was forced to resign. No sooner was this excitement over than the President caused a new crisis by first delaying to sign a measure passed by the Cortes and then publishing a long statement setting forth his reasons for disapproving of it. One would have more respect for the President if he had acted similarly when called upon to sign the Law of Religious Congregations.

## III

We now come to the second part of the period under review—the year which has elapsed since the revolts in Catalonia and Asturias. So far as Asturias is concerned, it has been a year of sickening recriminations between partisans of the rebels and upholders of legally constituted authority—a year, too, in which both sides have sorrowfully taken stock of the appalling loss of life and irretrievable damage to property, notably to the Cathedral and University of Oviedo. Friends of Catalonia, which after so many generations of unrest was beginning to thrive under a *régime* of partial autonomy, have had regretfully to acquiesce in measures by which the Generalitat was temporarily deprived of its status, and then, as the situation began to return to the normal, was once more given some of its former powers, in abbreviated and mutilated form. Senyor Companys and his former colleagues, after a full trial and condemnation to varying terms of imprisonment, are now undergoing penal servitude. Much feeling has been aroused over the execution of two of the Asturian rebels and perhaps still more by the repeated allegations made against the Government forces of needless cruelty in the suppression of what is allowed, by all save the extremists who supported it, to have been a brutal and callous revolt. Tremendous hostility has existed in the country to Sr. Azaña, whose harsh rule in the days of

his power has not been forgotten, and whom popular opinion has widely credited with having aspired to supreme authority had the Catalonian outbreak been successful. Leave for his prosecution was given by the Cortes and approved by the Tribunal of Constitutional Guarantees, but though there was a majority in the Cortes against him, it was insufficient for constitutional requirements and the charges therefore fell to the ground. On the third Sunday in October he addressed in Madrid what is said in the press to have been one of the largest political meetings ever held in Spain, and I learn from independent opinion in the capital that his personal prestige is once more rapidly rising. What this will lead to if it continues, it is hard to say—certainly not to internal peace and progress.

During the last six months, the atmosphere has become somewhat more normal; martial law, after a long reign, has disappeared, and Spain is once more beginning to look forward rather than backward. Yet it must be admitted that the prospect in view is not reassuring. Problems loom up on all sides. There seems no ground for hope that any coalition likely to be formed, either before or after the inevitable elections, will be much more stable than that which from day to day is still maintaining so precarious an existence. Though the Socialists seem for the time being to have exhausted their material resources, the Syndicalists, on the one hand, are still active, and there is no suppressing the activities (harmless enough, it is true, at present) of the Monarchists. Regionalist aspirations are almost where they were four years ago: Catalonia, having tasted the sweets of autonomy, will not be satisfied until they are all returned to her, while the Basques, naturally enough, are dissatisfied at the shelving of their Autonomy Statute, drawn up and approved by three provinces, and the Government has already had proof, in its fight with the Basque municipalities in August, 1934, of the stubbornness of this determined little people.

And there are problems more pressing than these, and no more easy of solution. There is the question, for example, of national finance, which again and again has been conveniently

forgotten but which shows signs of refusing to be dallied with any longer. No regular Budget has been voted since the end of 1932. Once again its presentation has been deferred to another session, and once again groups of politicians have declared that "never shall sun that morrow see." But it does, in fact, appear likely that it is now about to dawn; for, during the late summer, a drastic economy law has been passed, which came into force at the beginning of October. It is aimed, in particular, as Spanish economy measures generally are, at the Civil Service, with its duplications of offices, its multiplications of salaries and its bad old system of *gratificaciones*—all of which die hard. "There are Government offices," declared the late Finance Minister in the Cortes last July, "where employees draw their salaries for not attending in the mornings and draw overtime pay for attending in the afternoons." It seems likely (though one would never care to describe it as certain) that these abuses will now be remedied. At any rate, an enormous number of posts in government offices, including even the coveted *direcciones generales* and *subsecretarías*, have been abolished; large cuts have been made in fees and allowances of all kinds; ministers and consuls abroad are to be paid, not in the currency of the countries in which they serve, but in the currency of Spain; and attendance for purposes of work, as well as for the drawing of a salary, will be required in future of all classes of civil servant. But there is, of course, another side to these economies. Many of them will do harm to education, which has already suffered severely through the closing of schools kept by the Religious Orders, and the substitution, in many places, of state schools with teachers of necessity insufficiently trained, owing to the rapidity with which new posts have been created, and often paid starvation wages. It was recently stated in the Cortes, and not contradicted, that there are 43,000 elementary school teachers in Spain earning less than £100 a year, and the salaries of the higher grades of teacher are not proportionately more munificent.

All this will have to be considered in the press and on the platform, as well as in the Cortes, during the winter. But

it is the reform of the Constitution of 1931, which was drawn up by an extremist House strongly under the influence of anti-traditionalist feeling, and which may safely be described as in various ways repugnant to a majority of Spaniards, that will be the prime subject of discussion until next summer. As long ago as last January, President Alcalá Zamora, in a spirit of objectivity which even those who are opposed to him will agree he has as a rule done his utmost to maintain, made an elaborate report to his ministers upon the working of the Constitution as a prelude to the work of revision. Article 125 of the present Constitution provides for a possible revision during the fourth year of its existence, which began on December 9, 1934, such revision to be proposed by either the Cabinet or one-fourth of the total number of Deputies. After the completion of the fourth year—that is to say, at any time after the 8th of the present month December—an absolute majority in the Cortes will suffice for the revision to proceed. As well over three-quarters of the Cortes may be presumed to desire such revision, it may be taken as certain.

Last June a long statement was issued by the Cabinet of the day, which was chiefly Radical-Cedista in composition, summarizing the official proposals for the reform of a Constitution which it delightfully describes as having been imbued, from birth, with " speculative fervour." While these proposals are too numerous to describe in detail, their main outlines may be glanced at. The articles on regional autonomy, after three years' experience of autonomy in Catalonia, are (according to this plan) to be modified ; the socialistic article authorizing certain expropriations of private property will be suppressed ; the functions of the State as instructor and inspector of instruction will be re-defined ; the Senate will be restored, the uni-cameral system being generally held to have been unsuccessful. Important changes are proposed, some of which will probably prove highly contentious, affecting the powers of the President, amnesties for political offences, and the much-discussed (and some would say much-abused) Tribunal of Constitutional Guarantees. A particularly vague paragraph deals with the notorious Articles 26 and 27, on the

religious question, which, however, are held to stand in need of revision even for "strictly political" reasons. Article 43, on marriage and divorce, is described as altogether too radical and as having exercised an unsatisfactory influence on family life. These extracts alone make it clear that we are in for a long period of revision, and much will depend upon the character of the new Constituent Cortes.

## IV

As a final commentary upon affairs in Spain, it may be of interest to quote from a recent and remarkable book which has not, up to the present, been published in English: Sr. de Madariaga's *Anarchy or Hierarchy: Idearium for the Constitution of the Third Republic.*

Sr. de Madariaga, who has recently come into international notice as Chairman of the Committee of Five appointed at Geneva last September to consider and report upon the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, is a man of such outstanding character and independence of judgment that any considered pronouncement which he might make upon the political situation would be listened to with general respect. A man of letters as well as a man with an equal command of three languages and a profound knowledge of international affairs, he has written essays on Shelley and Wordsworth, studies of modern Spanish writers, a treatise on disarmament and a striking commentary on *Don Quixote.* No one would ever accuse him of being a traditionalist in politics or in any way an ally of the Right. During Primo de Rivera's dictatorship of 1923–30 he was one of those who abandoned his country, living for the most part in Geneva, where he quickly became known as an authority on disarmament, and in England, where for four years he was Professor of Spanish at Oxford University. During this period he contributed a volume on Spain to Messrs. Benn's Modern World Series which indulged in some outspoken criticism of the then dominant *régime.* On the advent of the Republic he was looked upon as one of the leading intellectuals whose reputation was considered

indispensable to its prestige abroad : he became its Ambassador in Washington and after a short time was transferred to the important Embassy in Paris. In March, 1934, under Sr. Lerroux, he returned to Madrid as Minister of Public Instruction, and had the uncommon and, one would suppose, unwelcome experience of holding two portfolios for ten days (during the vacancy, referred to above, in the Ministry of Justice) and, after a total period in office of only eight weeks, of losing both. All this I have detailed in order to make it clear that Sr. de Madariaga is no detached observer of Spanish affairs or academic theorizer upon them, but a critic who, not only by his intellectual gifts but by his practical experience of politics, is amply qualified to write authoritatively on the political situation. Further, as one who for long was the accredited representative of the Spanish Republic abroad, he is unlikely to be in any way prejudiced against it.

And, at the end of four years of the Second Republic, Sr. de Madariaga is already looking toward the Third ! Both his brief experience of office in Spain and his observations made from abroad with that inside knowledge which no one abroad, save in an Embassy, can possess, have caused him the most profound disillusion. And so, before passions become heated and while there is yet time for those who will govern in the future to consider his words, he sets out an ideal system of government which he believes should supplant that at present in operation, which is "inconsistent in itself and inconsistent with reality." There is not space in this article to describe this system in detail, but we can at least note its author's attitude to current events. What has he to say of the new *régime* which he did so much to prepare ?

We—those few of us who in 1931 dreamed that Spain had at last won her redemption and was about to take seriously in hand the fashioning of her new Constitution before setting herself to labour in earnest—we have seen how the ambition of a few, the negligence of all divisions in the ranks of the Centre and the intransigence of the extremists have dealt Spain a terrible blow both in her economy, her *morale* and her prestige abroad. We know that they will end by causing her ruin, unless we Spaniards can be inspired by passions of a generosity sufficient to raise us above our ambitions and

prejudices, our impatiences and evil habits, and to fill us with a sense of our responsibility.

For this failure he finds reasons enough in the Spanish character. While recognizing its many virtues—its passion for equality, its inherent dignity, its adaptability to democratic government, its essential patriotism—he deplores its intense individualism, amounting to a "hypertrophy of the *ego*," a dogmatism which "was our glory and our tragedy when Spain was great . . . but to-day is all tragedy with no glory," a disinclination for objective thinking and a dispersive tendency which has magnified the abuses of regionalism.

The detailed criticisms which Sr. de Madariaga brings against the successive governments of the Republic are manifold, but the chief of them are concerned with religion and education. After the blasts of hothouse rhetoric with which Sr. Azaña's ministers of public instruction periodically announced their projected schemes of educational reform, the comments of an educationist who really knows education as it is in England, France and the United States must seem to Spaniards so fresh as to be almost unpleasantly invigorating. Instead of reforming the Universities from within, he says, attempts have been made to create a more impressive *façade* to a building so rotten as to need a revolution of its own: he is thinking, no doubt, of such grandiose schemes as the so-called 'International Summer University' at Santander. As to the secondary school, instead of being, as it should be, a continuation of the primary school, it is "a caricature of the University and a vast commercial enterprise for the exploitation of text-books." Every Spaniard who knows anything of secondary education knows how true this is, but the State does nothing to support the small minority of teachers who would gladly fight against it. And there is worse:—

> With the exception of an occasional noble initiative and an occasional successful achievement, the Second Republic has ruined a magnificent opportunity of guiding this problem (of secondary education) toward a satisfactory solution. Obsessed by its anticlericalism, it has lightheartedly closed down the only type of school that, for all its imperfection, bore some slight resemblance to a secondary school—the

colleges of the Jesuits. And having done this it has created more and more *Institutos*,[1] that is to say, more spiritless caricatures of universities, more branches of the firm of Messrs. Textbook and Co., Ltd. . . . In matters of secondary education, the Republic has failed dismally.

With the author's rotund condemnation of the Republic's treatment of the Jesuit colleges goes his disapproval of its whole attitude to the Catholic Church in Spain. He does not, in his criticisms, take the orthodox standpoint : no Catholics, and perhaps few Christians of any allegiance who are familiar with Spain, could subscribe to all he writes. But the very fact that he is writing from the neighbourhood of the enemy's camp gives more point to his pronouncements. He defends in turn the Church's schools, religious houses and charitable institutions. In my previous article I referred to the ridiculous attempts of Sr. Azaña, in his fanatical speech to the Cortes of October 13, 1931, to prove that Spain is no longer a Catholic country. It is a pity that Sr. de Madariaga, in his present frame of mind, was not in the Cortes on that night instead of in Washington. " The Republic," he urges, " must approach the religious question without prejudices either for or against the Catholic Church, its dogma and its faith, with its mind fixed only upon realities. *The omnipresence of Catholicism in Spain is evident and the depth to which it is rooted is proverbial.*" " The de-Catholicizing of Spain," which such determined attempts were made to accomplish in the first two years of the Republic, " is almost non-existent as far as women are concerned, and in the men it has succeeded but little and that superficially. For a long time, therefore, Spain will continue to be a Catholic nation, perhaps the most Catholic nation in the world." For all these reasons, Sr. de Madariaga considers, it was " the gravest error of the Republic of the 14th April " to embark upon an anticlerical campaign of which the results are now embodied in the Constitution. It is to be hoped that his words will be listened to by all political realists in Spain, and that no future Left government will fall into Sr. Azaña's error of misinterpreting the national psychology.

E. Allison Peers

[1] *Instituto* in Spain, like *lycée* in France, is the special name given to the official secondary school.

# ARCHBISHOP FITZRALPH AND GEORGE OF HUNGARY

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ARCHBISHOP FITZRALPH'S visit to Avignon in the year 1349 was to be prolonged for close on two years, and is marked by the first phase of his long controversy with the Mendicant Orders. This is not the place to attempt an analysis of the rights and wrongs of that famous quarrel; and it will be more convenient to continue our study of the Archbishop's diocesan activities as revealed in his sermon-diary. In default of the episcopal register for his pontificate, this diary enables us at least to date accurately many of his movements, and throws a curiously vivid light on the chief difficulties which faced a reforming Archbishop in the administration of a diocese which had suffered from long years of neglect under absentee prelates, and was constantly distracted by border-warfare between English and Irish.

In an earlier article I have outlined the cause of the dispute between FitzRalph as Archbishop of Armagh and Alexander de Bicknor, the Archbishop of Dublin, whose death took place shortly before FitzRalph's arrival at the papal curia. In the earlier stages of that quarrel FitzRalph had been in an unusually strong position. For he had been personally appointed by Clement VI to inquire into the conduct of Archbishop Bicknor, and his claims to the primatial privileges within the territory of Dublin were supported by the express wishes of Edward III. The death of Alexander de Bicknor in the summer of 1349 brought a sudden change in the relations between FitzRalph and the English King. Edward III was primarily concerned to have, in both Armagh and Dublin, men whom he could trust as submissive agents of his royal policy. On September 4, 1349, within less than two months of Archbishop Bicknor's death, John of St. Paul, a Canon of Dublin

and a trusted agent of the King, was appointed by papal provision to the see of Dublin; and in the following year he was nominated by the King as his Chancellor in Ireland. The change of policy was soon apparent in the King's attitude to the claims of the Archbishop of Armagh. On November 20, 1349, Edward III revoked his former letters to Archbishop FitzRalph empowering him to have his primatial cross carried before him within the territory of Dublin. The King now states that he has learned of the grounds on which the claims of Dublin are based; and adds the suggestion that his previous royal writ had been obtained under false pretences, to the grievous injury of the Archbishop of Dublin and the manifest danger of armed violence and other breaches of the peace. Archbishop FitzRalph was at the papal curia during these events, and we may assume that he was not idle in asserting the claims of his see before the Pope. Indeed, the fact that the King thought it advisable to issue a second writ on the same matter a year later (December 8, 1350) is proof that the Archbishop of Armagh was attempting to resist the King's decision.

The necessity for urging his primatial claims in the papal court, no less than his growing interest in the controversy between the secular clergy and the Friars, accounts for the fact that the Archbishop allowed his absence from Ireland to drag on from month to month and from year to year. The Pope, who had appointed him member of a commission to inquire into the mendicant controversy, seems to have made no complaint; but the King became alarmed as to the possible effect of the Archbishop's influence at Avignon, and royal orders were sent to him, requiring his immediate return to Armagh. The first of these orders is dated February 18, 1350. The King reminds the Archbishop in his letter that his people of Armagh are suffering from raids and slaughter during his absence, and that he would be better employed in looking after their interests than in seeking for privileges detrimental to the peace of Ireland. On the same day the King wrote to two of the Cardinals on whose influence he could count, asking them to oppose FitzRalph's activities in the matter of the

Armagh privileges. FitzRalph seems to have sought a delay to this first order of recall, and on October 7, 1350, he was granted permission from the King to remain at Avignon until the coming feast of the Purification. Meanwhile the King issued his second writ in favour of the Archbishop of Dublin on December 8, 1350, and ordered the Justiciar and his officers in Ireland to suppress with the full rigour of the law all who might assert the privileges of Armagh by force of arms. Plainly, the controversy between Dublin and Armagh had been the cause of disorder and rioting; and it is easy to understand the King's interest in settling the matter once and for all, provided that the decision went in favour of his own personal candidate, the Archbishop of Dublin.

We do not know when FitzRalph left Avignon for Ireland, but he certainly preached at the papal curia on March 6, 1351. Presumably he set out on his journey shortly after this date; and we may guess that he took the opportunity of visiting the King's court on his way over to Ireland. His sermon-diary is resumed with the notes of a sermon which he preached at Coleraine (Cowlrath) on September 8, 1351. The date and the place are alike noteworthy. Coleraine lies far outside the Pale, within which the Archbishop of Armagh was ordinarily compelled to limit his activities. It was at this time a small, hard-pressed English community, cut off from the English colony of Co. Louth by the Irish successes under O'Neill just twenty years before, and destined to fall into Irish hands within less than a generation of FitzRalph's visit.[1] What brought the Archbishop so far north? And how did he go or come? It is not easy to be sure; but we may guess that this unexpected visit to a town that lay outside his immediate jurisdiction was in some way connected with his voyage home. The ship that carried him from the English ports may have had business to transact in Coleraine; or he himself may have wished to visit an outlying colony. Whatever the motive, his visit is of interest as a reminder how precarious was the English hold in all this region. Nowhere else in the sermon-diary

[1] O'Laverty: *Diocese of Down and Connor*, IV, p. 176; Curtis: *History of Mediaeval Ireland*, p. 263.

could topical allusions to the life of his audience have been so welcome; but we know nothing save that he spoke in English to the people of the town, preaching to them on devotion to Our Lady. One touch alone brings us nearer to the sea-faring life of these colonists. Speaking of Our Lady's various titles, he Archbishop insists on her title as Star of the Sea and on her peculiar affection for those who dwell near the sea: *unde non puto per orbem ita hanc nostram stellam ab aliquibus honoratam sicuti ab habitantibus insulas occeani maris magni.*

The next group of sermons recorded in the Archbishop's diary show that he was back again in the centre of his diocese. On the first Sunday of Advent (December 4, 1351) he preached to the people of Dromiskin on the text *Venit iudicare terram*; two days later, on the feast of St. Nicholas, he preached to the people of Dundalk; and a fortnight later he preached in Drogheda for the fourth Sunday of Advent on the text *Gaudete in Domino semper*. The first sermon of this group is no more than an instruction on the General Judgment; the second is a simple panegyric of the saint; and the third is chiefly notable for the Archbishop's insistence on the vanity of all worldly goods. *Quod soleo dicere volo repetere*, he says; and he develops his favourite theme, using more than one quaint anecdote of the type familiar to all medieval preachers. One point in his doctrine is worthy of special note, as it recurs more than once: the Archbishop insists that a miser who hoards his wealth in this life, with the intention of leaving all to the poor on his death, gains no merit in the sight of God, but is rather guilty of mortal sin. What is needed is that detachment from worldly pleasure which will impel him to distribute his superfluous wealth to the poor before his death.

During these weeks the Archbishop must have been making his preparations for the first of two Provincial Synods which he held at Drogheda during his pontificate. The next sermon in his diary according to the order of time (though it has actually got misplaced in our MSS.) is a sermon before a Provincial Council, which he preached in Latin on the Tuesday after Septuagesima, February 7, 1352. In this sermon, which was plainly preached to the clergy alone—hence the use on this

occasion of Latin, not English—the Archbishop speaks out with his customary frankness and courage against the abuses which prevailed in Ireland as in every part of Europe during the later Middle Ages. Taking as his text the words of Joseph's brethren, *Viri pastores sumus serui tui*, he urges that many, instead of being true pastors, are hirelings: *mercenarii aut vini voratores aut raptores latrones fures aut mercatores.* The very vehemence of the Archbishop's language shows that his words of denunciation must be taken as a zealous preacher's effort to stir men's consciences rather than as a sober account of actual conditions. And the fact that he appeals to the good sense of the Synod for the execution of necessary reforms is further proof that the abuses which existed in the diocese were recognised as abuses that must be put right without further delay.

Bearing these reservations in mind, it is none the less important to note the abuses which the Archbishop feels it his duty to denounce at this Provincial Synod of the year 1352. They fall into two classes: the moral faults of individuals which give scandal to the faithful—concubinage, drunkenness and nepotism are named as the most common offences—and the prevailing practice of simony, by which ecclesiastical benefices and preferments were granted in return for some temporal favour, directly given or indirectly promised. This latter abuse, which was a veritable scourge in every Christian country during the later Middle Ages, seems to have been as common in Ireland as elsewhere; and the Archbishop denounces it in no measured terms: *audio enim a pluribus quod sunt aliqui prelati qui vix conferunt cuiquam beneficium nisi aut precio recepto pre manibus aut certitudine habita de commodo recipiendo post factum.* Small wonder that benefices granted in this way were only too often granted to the less worthy candidate; and that the pastors who entered the fold by this door were themselves unscrupulous in the use they made of the ecclesiastical property entrusted to their care. *Tales prelati*, says the indignant Archbishop, *sunt raptores latrones et fures: et ita sunt illi qui fructus ecclesiarum percipiunt et ministerium in illis omnino contempnunt: qui semper exercent*

*onde tonde, tolle tolle, et nunquam implent pasce, pasce ; quorum aliqui diligunt principum curias et negligunt ymo fugiunt ouium curas, se ipsos pascentes et subiectos perdentes.*

Before we consider the next sermons that have been recorded in the Archbishop's diary, it will be necessary to say a few words as to the form in which that diary has come down to us. Three MSS. of the complete text are in existence, and all three show the same curious divergences from what must have been the true place of the sermons in their chronological order.[1] In all three, for example, two undated fragments appear at the opening of the diary which internal evidence shows to have been delivered in Ireland towards the end of the Archbishop's career. All three again misplace certain sermons in the middle of the diary, though the place and date of their delivery is noted in the title of each sermon, and we have thus a clue to what must have been the original order. In all three MSS. again what should be the last sermon of the series, preached at London in the early summer of 1357, occurs out of its true place among the sermons of 1351. Finally these extant MSS. all show blank spaces or other indications of a lacuna at precisely those points in the diary where these misplacements have occurred. An analysis of these very curious coincidences leads to the conclusion that the sermon-diary must have been originally contained in a volume of which the first few folios and the last few folios were loose and have thus got misplaced; and furthermore, that one or two gatherings of folios in the centre of the volume must also have been loose, so that the sermons of the years 1351-54, though for the most part in their true order, have in fact been slightly misplaced in all the extant copies that we possess. Plainly these extant copies must all derive from a single lost text, which we may presume came to England shortly after the Archbishop's death at Avignon in the year 1360.

Bearing these facts in mind, we may note that the next sermon in the diary, though it is now out of its true place, is a sermon preached at Trim on March 4, 1352, for the second

[1] Two of these MSS. are at Oxford (Bodl. MS. 144 and St. John's MS. 65). The third, formerly in the library of Sir James Ware, is now in the British Museum (Lansdowne MS. 393).

Sunday of Lent. It calls for no comment; but the following sermon, preached in English to the merchant-folk of Drogheda on the first Sunday of Advent, December 2, 1352, is one of the most interesting of the whole series. Taking as his text the words of St. Paul, *Induimini dominum Jhesum Christum*, the Archbishop interprets his text in the sense of our duty to clothe ourselves with the virtues of Christ, and then turns abruptly from theory to practice. His congregation, he complains, are accustomed to fraudulent trickery both in their worldly trafficking and in the fulfilment of their ecclesiastical duties: *et ibi fiebat declaracio sermonis ad mercatorum fraudes et falsitates in nimis care vendendo et spiritualiter male et delegaliter decimando.* The Archbishop begins his attack with the latter offence, and proves that God's rights are violated, whenever a reluctant rector or vicar is compelled to accept a compromise in the matter of his tithes and other dues. He insists that God's lordship cannot be destroyed by such violent methods, and he goes on to give a detailed account of the frauds practised by the local merchants with a view to evading payment of their dues. Instead of paying the tithe at the time of a sale or other immediate profit, they wait until the end of the year and then declare that they have no profit to show on the year's trading. But the Archbishop will not accept such a plea: a man must pay tithe on his sales of cloth or wine or other merchandise as for the sale of his fowl or his pigs or his timber: *non minus debetur lucrum mercium quam de pullis columbarum seu gallinarum seu de porcellis vel boscis cotidie precisis seu de herbis collectis . . . et per consequens statim tenentur mercatores decimare de lucro vnius panni venditi aut de vno dolio vini aut de re alia qualicumque vendita secundum se totum presertim si esset res notabiliter decimabilis.*

Having thus dealt with those who sought to defraud the clergy of their dues, the Archbishop turns to others who make false statements as to the price of land or other property which is for sale. And he insists, as he had previously insisted when denouncing the murder of Irishmen and others, that the lack of legal redress under certain conditions is no proof that the obligation of conscience is not binding: *false*

*hij dicunt quod secundum legem regni hec detinent ex quo nulla lex regni affirmat quod hec bona sunt sua.* The Archbishop then begins to argue that the law for certain good reasons must sometimes tolerate a hidden wrong: *quia non potest occulta cognoscere lex humana.* The application of this doctrine is obvious; but at this point the notes of his sermon break off abruptly, and there is reason to suspect a considerable lacuna in our text. No sermon is recorded for the rest of this Advent or for the whole of the year 1353; and the first note of a sermon for 1354 is no more than the fragment of a sermon preached at Ardee for the fifth Sunday after Easter. The next complete sermon is of the following Advent (November 30, 1354). Either then we must assume a considerable gap in the mutilated text, or we must suspect some special reason for the Archbishop's prolonged silence. That he was absent from Ireland for part of the year 1353 is made probable by an entry in the published Calendar of Close Rolls for April 23, 1353, recording a permission granted to the Archbishop of Armagh to come to the King on business with a moderate household. But we shall see from the next episode in his career that he must have been back in Ireland by November of that year at latest. He was therefore in his diocese for the three principal seasons of his public preaching: Lent, Eastertide and Advent. Was he silent at these seasons? Or is the sermon diary defective at this point?

A very singular episode must now be considered which suggests a possible reason why the Archbishop abstained from his usual activities as a preacher during the year 1353. One of the most curious documents in Irish medieval history is the narrative known as *Visiones Georgii* recently edited for the first time by Professor Hammerich.[1] In this text we are told how a Hungarian knight named George Grissaphan, son of a well-known Hungarian magnate, came on a pilgrimage to Lough Derg in the year 1353. George had been one of those who followed King Lewis of Hungary into Italy when the Hungarian king made an effort to assert his personal right to

[1] *Visiones Georgii*, ed. L. L. Hammerich (Copenhagen, 1931). Professor Hammerich visited Dublin recently, and I was able to discuss with him some of the conclusions to be found in this essay.

the throne of Naples. Lewis made two expeditions into Italy, in 1347, and again in 1350. Since George is stated to have been only twenty-four years of age at the time of his pilgrimage in 1353, we may assume that he went as a young officer in the Hungarian army of 1350, and he seems to have been left for a time as captain of certain strong places in Apulia. His rule was so harsh and unjust that he confessed in later life to having been responsible for the murder of at least three hundred and fifty of the local inhabitants, not to speak of countless acts of robbery. One night his conscience smote him, and he decided to do penance for his many sins. Making his way to Avignon, he sought and obtained absolution; but, not being satisfied with the penance imposed on him, he made up his mind to go on a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, whither he went on foot with a single attendant. At Compostella he adopted the life of a hermit, and lived as such in a solitary hermitage for five months. But finding (as was the common experience of most medieval hermits) that his solitude was being invaded by pious pilgrims, he resolved to set out again on his journeys, and this time he chose St. Patrick's Purgatory as the goal of his wanderings. The choice need not surprise us, for the story of Knight Owen's pilgrimage to the Purgatory, which appears in Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, had been taken over by Jacobus de Voragine in his *Legenda Aurea*, the most popular of all medieval collections of such tales.

It was a long journey from Compostella to Lough Derg, and the narrative tells how George and his attendant made their way on foot—*cum maximis laboribus peditando*—through all Navarre, Gascony, and the whole kingdom of France, and so passing across all England they came to Ireland. Once in Ireland, the pilgrim made his way to Lough Derg, where the Canons Regular of St. Augustine were in charge of the famous church and cave. George begged permission of the Prior, whose name is given as Brother Paul, to show him the entry to the Purgatory; but the Prior answered that the pilgrim must first obtain the leave of the Archbishop of Armagh and the Bishop of Clogher. From a comparison of the various dates given in the course of the narrative, it is

probable that George must have reached Lough Derg in October or November 1353. At the Prior's bidding he now retraced his steps for about eight days' journey—*fere per octo dietas*—and came first to Richard Archbishop of Armagh, and begged of him with much devotion and many tears that he might grant him permission to enter the Purgatory of Saint Patrick, "for the love of Jesus Christ, whose servant he was." Archbishop FitzRalph must have been somewhat taken aback at this request, for the legend of the cave told how few of those who attempted the descent came back alive. Lough Derg, moreover, lay outside that English territory to which the conditions of his own diocese limited his activity. In the letters which he gave to George once the pilgrimage had been accomplished, he writes of it: *qui locus in diocesi Clochorensi inter homines minus domitos situatur.* However, he gave the letters at the pilgrim's request, and George turned back once more to find the Bishop of Clogher, Nicholas Mac Cathusaigh. Bishop Nicholas seems to have been more cordial: *ab ipso valde graciose receptus* is the pilgrim's report of the interview; and the necessary letters were granted. Armed with this double permit, George now came back to the Prior of Lough Derg, and the preparations for the descent began. The pilgrim first was ordered to fast on bread and water for fifteen days; and for five days following this fast he appeared in the church, was covered with black cloth, and the Office of the Dead with a requiem Mass was sung over him each morning, with a second Office each evening. At the end of these three weeks of preparation the pilgrim was led by the Prior and the whole community to the island, "in the presence of a very great noble called Magrath, who is styled the king of this country, and of many other nobles." There he was brought to the entrance of the cave. Some last ceremonies were performed. The pilgrim was given a cross to carry on his way down the steps that led to the Purgatory. He began the descent, and the Prior solemnly closed the door of the cave, which was to remain closed for the next twenty-four hours. "Having closed the door, the Prior returned to his monastery with his Canons and the nobles whom we have named and others who were present."

The narrative then continues with the story told by th pilgrim on his return and with a detailed account of twenty six visions which he experienced during his descent. Th study of these documents is best left to those who are specialist in this class of literature. Our concern is with a very in teresting chapter at the end of the narrative, in which w are told of certain " embassies " with which the pilgrim wa charged by his guide, Saint Michael, on his return to earth These " embassies " were five in number, and the pilgrin refused to say more than that the first was to Richard Arch bishop and Primate of Ireland; the second was to King Edward of England and the Queen-mother; the third to King John of France; the fourth to Pope Innocent VI; and the fifth to the Sultan of Babylon. As to the first message, however the pilgrim " explained his embassy in general to the Primate of Ireland, and said that among the other embassies it was founded on the absolution of a great city of his archdiocese which the said Primate had unjustly laid under interdict and excommunication, and was keeping in this state: not, however from malice nor from injustice, as it seemed, but because he thought the city was neither fulfilling its due nor wishing to fulfil it on certain points." The " embassies " to the Pope and the Kings of England and France were chiefly concerned with the duty of establishing peace between these two countries; and of the message to the Sultan of Babylon George would say nothing, " save that it contained a great and notable good for all Christendom."

This famous descent into the Purgatory must have taken place in the early Advent of 1353, for the Prior's letter of credence, addressed to all the faithful on behalf of George, is dated from the monastery of the Purgatory on the morrow of the feast of St. Nicholas—that is to say, December 7, 1353. From Lough Derg the pilgrim seems to have gone to Bishop Nicholas Mac Cathusaigh, who gave him a further letter of credence, dated from Clogher on the morrow of Christmas Day—December 26, 1353. The pilgrim's next step would be to seek out the Archbishop of Armagh, to whom he was charged to deliver the first of his " embassies " and from

whom he would naturally wish to receive a further letter of credence. Archbishop FitzRalph may have been absent from Drogheda or Dundalk during the month of January, or he may simply have refused to see this strange and troublesome visitor. In any case, George did not meet the Archbishop in January, but went on to Dublin, where he received a letter from the Prior of the Knights Hospitallers of Kilmainham, dated on the Wednesday after the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul—January 29, 1354. Was he then to leave Ireland without having seen the Archbishop of Armagh? George was not the man to be put off so easily. He went north again, and this time sent a message to the Primate through the Archdeacon of Armagh, whose name is not given. The message was to the effect that he could not tarry much longer in Ireland, and would thus be compelled to leave the country without having delivered to the Archbishop a message which had been given him by Saint Michael and which concerned the good of the Archbishop himself and of his diocese. This message had an immediate effect, as is plain from the terms of the following letter from Archbishop FitzRalph, which is to be found at the opening of all the extant texts of the Hungarian pilgrim's narrative. The letter is dated from the Archbishop's manor at Dromiskin, on a Wednesday that cannot be accurately determined, but is most probably Wednesday, February 19, 1354 :—

To our beloved son George of Hungary, a dweller in the realm of Apulia, a pilgrim of God and St. Patrick, Richard, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, greeting in the Lord, grace and benediction to the pilgrim of God and St. Patrick.

Know that last Monday at Vespers we received letters from our Archdeacon of Armagh with the news that you could not wait for our arrival in those parts longer than Tuesday last elapsed. Having received and read these letters, we rose from our bed at midnight, and that same Tuesday we came to Dundalk, having accomplished a more severe day's journey than any we have done for a great time; and this Wednesday we are much fatigued from our journey at our manor of Dromiskin. We implore you from our inmost heart, in the name of God, whose faithful worshipper we believe you to be, that we be not deprived of the fruits of the revelation made to you; and that we may incur no contumacy in matters spiritual (as He knows

whom we worship and entreat for the salvation of souls of the people subject to us), labouring faithfully that you may come to our manor aforesaid or elsewhere, if it seems good to you, to treat with us concerning those subjects, for the telling of which you have, as is said, a divine mandate. If you need horses in order to avoid the fatigue, write back to us, and we will send them to you. May the Omnipotent God direct your course to Himself always.

Given on this Wednesday in our manor as superscribed, under our authentic seal.

To this letter are added two other letters from FitzRalph. One of these is a general letter of credence to all the faithful, dated February 22, 1354, in which the Archbishop confirms the credentials of the Prior of Lough Derg and the Bishop of Clogher; the other (bearing the same date) is a personal letter to FitzRalph's nephew, Master Richard FitzRalph, rector of the church of Trim and canon of Ely, who seems to have acted as the Archbishop's personal agent at the papal curia of Avignon. In this second letter the Archbishop tells his nephew briefly of the pilgrim's adventures, ending with his descent into the famous cave, "where, as he asserts, through the revelation of an angel he saw many marvellous things concerning the living and the dead, the saved and the lost." And the Archbishop discreetly adds:—"What actually he told us concerning our own person, you may perhaps hear without trouble or prudently extract from him." And he ends with the request that his nephew should show these letters as testimony to the Lord Cardinals.

George of Hungary seems to have left Ireland almost immediately after this interview with the Primate, and the narrative tells how he was faithful to the Angel's commands, delivering each of his embassies in due course. He must have made his way in the next few months to the two courts of England and France, and then to Avignon. Did he go farther and make an effort to deliver his embassy to the Sultan of Babylon? We do not know; but the internal evidence of our narrative as we now have it has satisfied modern scholars that it was written down in the South of France, probably near Avignon, by some unknown person who had the story from the pilgrim himself. Archbishop FitzRalph's

ame was well known at Avignon in these years; nd it is significant that the compiler of the story begins his le with a quotation in full of the Archbishop's three letters, hich are then followed by the letters of the Prior of Lough erg, Bishop Nicholas of Clogher and Prior of Kilmainham.

Did the Archbishop act on the message which he thus ceived from the other world? When we remember that eorge of Hungary reached Ireland less than twelve months ter the sermon we have quoted as to the failure of the erchants of Drogheda to pay their dues, it seems impossible to oubt the connection between this dispute and the pilgrim's embassy." We may thus take the latter as proof that the rchbishop followed up his sermon by the drastic step of nposing an interdict on the town and excommunicating those ho refused to pay their tithes according to his requirements. iscontent was inevitable, and we shall find plenty of evidence our survey of the concluding part of the Archbishop's sermon- iary to show that his vigorous challenge to this and many nother established custom of the Pale was fiercely resented y the English settlers. The fact of George's embassy may also, venture to suggest, be taken as good proof that the discontent ad spread as far afield as the Augustinian monastery of ough Derg: for it is impossible not to suspect that the anons of the monastery had some part in preparing the lgrim for the reception of this particular message. He was ith them for three weeks at least before his descent into ie cave, in just the emotional condition that would make m most susceptible to such suggestions. Rumours were ainly current in Ireland as to the nature of the message to ie Primate; and the Archbishop had a personal interview ith the pilgrim before he left the country. If we could be re of the preservation of the text of his diary, we might gue that the absence of sermons during the whole of the ear 1353 was due to the interdict which he himself had nposed. But the diary is plainly defective, and the interdict ems to have been confined to the city of Drogheda.

The series of sermons begins again in the summer 1354; and it is very probable that it begins with a sermon

that was preached at Dromiskin or in that neighbourhood fo Ash Wednesday, February 26, 1354—less than a week afte the Archbishop's interview with George of Hungary. Fo of the two undated fragments that now stand at the head o our texts of the diary, one is plainly a sermon for Ash Wednes day on the text : *Cum ieiunas vnge caput tuum.* It contains direct allusion to the Archbishop's difficulties with the mendi cant confessors in his diocese, thereby showing that it wa preached after his controversy with the Friars had begun and it contains also an allusion to an unnamed pilgrim wh had once been a great sinner and who had then done penanc and entered the Purgatory of St. Patrick. The Archbisho has been preaching on the necessity of penance, and has give one or two examples. He adds yet another *de milite adulter raptore homicida et viro pessimo qui postquam conuersus fui ad penitenciam solus post tempus sancti Patricii eius pur gatorium pro dei amore intrauit : in quo constat verum ess quod Christus in parabola predicta asseruit : cui minus dimittitu minus diligit.* If the words *solus post tempus sancti Patricii* ar taken literally, then the allusion must be to Knight Owen the story of whose pilgrimage must have been familiar t the Archbishop from the pages of Jacobus de Voragine But we are then led to assume a most unusua coincidence : that the Archbishop made this allusion t St. Patrick's Purgatory on Ash Wednesday of 1352 or 1353— only a few months before another pilgrim was to come an repeat Knight Owen's legendary experience. It seems t me more probable that we have here an immediate reactio to the Archbishop's most unusual encounter. He met George of Hungary either on February 22, 1354, or shortly before tha date. Ash Wednesday fell on the next Wednesday—February 26. What more natural than that he should tell his people of the recent experience of one who had been a greater sinne than any of them, but had done penance for his sins, and bee rewarded by speech with an Archangel and visions that i was not given to all even to hear from the pilgrim's lips ?

AUBREY GWYNN

# THE RISE AND DECLINE OF AMERICAN HUMANISM

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NOT very long ago, with the year 1930 as the time when the boom was at its height, it was impossible to frequent literary or academic circles in America without hearing a good deal about the Humanist Movement. If one read the "high-brow" reviews and magazines, one was sure to encounter articles on the subject that were almost invariably strongly partizan and yet that did little, despite their brilliance, to make quite clear exactly what the New Humanism was. It was virtually impossible to keep clear of the acrimonious controversy, and the innocent citizen hardly dared to put foot abroad during the intellectual night lest he be accosted by figures heavily draped in their doctoral robes and be challenged: "Under which king, Bezonian? Speak, or die." It is true that the general public was allowed to be happily unaware of the mysterious goings on. The radio was silent, and the newspapers made only casual reference to matters which were clearly above the heads of all except the intelligentzia. But readers of the *Forum*, the *Bookman*, *Scribner's Magazine*, the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, and the *Saturday Review of Literature* were obliged to listen to assurances that Humanism was a panacea, or else to fierce denunciations of it as intellectual quackery. The better type of Catholic periodical found the topic worth discussing; and *Thought*, the *Commonweal*, *America*, and even the organ of the Knights of Columbus treated the Humanist with sympathy, if also with cool detachment. It was a Catholic Professor at Harvard, Louis J. A. Mercier, who really gave the Movement its initial impetus by publishing in 1928 his *Mouvement Humaniste aux Etats-Unis*, a work crowned by the French Academy, and it was the same scholar who published in 1933 (by which

time Humanism had ceased to be an issue) his *Challenge of Humanism*. The two dates may be conveniently taken as those which mark the beginning and end of a ding-dong battle. Yet Professor Mercier is not to be grouped among the Humanists, but only among their friendly critics. He brought public attention to work which had been quietly going on for about a generation, but by calling it so definitely a " movement " he was thought to have been rather premature, and may have injured the cause. At all events his first book was one of the main causes for Humanism becoming so hotly contested a question. Between 1928 and 1933 an immense number of articles were written on one side or the other, and several important books appeared.

Then quite suddenly the whole thing ceased. It was just as though in the middle of the night a street-brawl had broken out beneath our windows and had been broken up by the police arriving with the patrol wagon. For an hour or two we listened in the silence, half expecting the uproar to be renewed. But nothing more happened. This was not merely because Irving Babbitt died in 1933 ; it was all over before then. What is curious is that it should have died as it did. This would therefore seem to be an opportune moment for looking back upon what happened, and to try to discover what it was all about.

## I

If we begin in the approved manner with a definition, it will be somewhat hard to find a satisfactory one. *The Century Dictionary* tells us that Humanism is " a system of thinking in which man, his interests and evelopment are made central and dominant. Its tendency is to exalt the cultural and practical rather than the scientific and speculative, and to encourage a spirit of revolt against existing opinions." But this was written without the American movement in mind, and some of its terms do not fit. We should have to interchange the words " practical " and " speculative," and to remember that the spirit of the New Humanism is conservative rather than rebellious.

The American Humanists, however, are very wary about ommitting themselves to a definition of their creed. Dr. 'agginger Auer, who is Professor of Church History at the Harvard Theological School and, like many of the Humanists, Unitarian, in his Lowell Institute Lectures for 1932 tells is that "Humanism is impatient of definition and, indeed, ather prides itself upon the fact that it is so much alive that t cannot be forced into a strait-jacket of limiting terms."[1] The Humanists in fact almost always show petulant irritation vhen their opponents ask to be informed as to just what it s they hold, and exclaim that to press for closer and closer lefinitions is only a familiar debating trick. I have there- ore to fall back, for lack of anything better, upon the defini- ion supplied (nothing loth) by Mr. C. Hartley Grattan, one of their severest critics. I daresay that a protest will be nade that this encloses the question within limits that are oo narrow, but at least Mr. Grattan has the advantage of being clear when he writes: "The man who identifies higher reality with God is a religionist and accepts his code of values on the basis of divine revelation or from admitted authority exterior to himself to which he submits himself for guidance. But there is a medial position which, while opposed to naturalism, is yet not prepared to accept divinely revealed or externally imposed values. The man in this position seeks to formulate his values from a close study of those glimpses of antecedent reality discernible in literature and from life scrutinized through literature. Such a man is a Humanist."[2]

The difficulty arises from the fact that there is no unanimity among the Humanists themselves—particularly on the subject of religion. Mr. Seward Collins, though he gives to the *American Review*, which he now edits, a strongly Catholic complexion, announced while he was acting as *impresario* for the Humanists in the *Bookman* that he is sceptical of revealed religion.[3] Professor Norman Foerster holds that

[1] *Humanism states its Case*, 7.
[2] *Scribner's Magazine*, Vol. lxxxvii (1930), p. 425.
[3] Cf. *Bookman*, Vol. lxxi (1930), p. 524.

Humanism is incompatible with a dogmatic revealed religion. Irving Babbitt, according to his friendly interpreter Louis Mercier, though ready to side with the religionist and though refusing to be called an atheist or even an agnostic, " through intellectual modesty stops short of affirming the existence of God and contents himself with affirming the existence of the Law."[1] It is, however, no more than just to quote his own words in the essay contributed by him to the symposium *Humanism and America* :—

> For my own part, I range myself unhesitatingly on the side of the supernaturalists. Though I see no evidence that Humanism is necessarily ineffective apart from dogmatic and revealed religion, there is, as it seems to me, evidence that it gains immensely in effectiveness when it has a background of religious insight.[2]

And it should be added that Mr. Paul Elmer More is definitely Christian in profession, though he draws also heavily upon Plato, Confucius, and Hindu philosophy. He states the dilemma thus :—

> The chain is perfect, link by link, only at the end it seems to be attached to nothing. And so I ask myself, reluctantly, almost wishing my answer was mistaken, whether those who advocate humanism, as an isolated movement, are not doomed to disappointment. It is not that the direction in itself is wrong ; every step in the programme is right, and only by this path can we escape from the waste land of naturalism. But can we stop here in security ? For purpose that will not end in bitter defeat, for values that will not mock us like empty masks, must we not look for a happiness based on something beyond the swaying tides of mortal success and failure ? Will not the humanist, unless he adds to his creed the faith and hope of religion, find himself at the last, despite his protests, dragged back into the camp of the naturalist ? [3]

One thing, at all events, clearly emerges : Humanism is an attempt to find a middle ground between naturalism and supernaturalism. It seeks to avoid committing itself either to that scientific naturalism to which it attaches the name of Bacon or to that sentimental naturalism whose most illustrious exponent was Rousseau. Equally it seeks to avoid committing itself to supernaturalism, to revealed religion in

[1] *The Challenge of Humanism*, 194. [2] P. 39. [3] *Bookman*, Vol. lxxi (1930), p. 9.

ny form, though this of course means in practice to dogmatic Christianity. Catholics have in certain cases welcomed the movement as a recoil against what the Humanists are pleased o regard as "naturalism," but those who have done so have ailed to see that Humanism represents nothing better than point in an equilateral triangle. In viewing Humanism s a point almost equidistant from their own, they are in langer of making a grave error. There is even reason to suppose that Naturalism—which, having many meanings, is not to be represented in a fixed geometric figure—may even be nearer to Catholicism than is Humanism.

It is unnecessary to give samples of the critical ineptitudes to which the Humanist critics continually descend. In picking their men of straw they show singularly poor powers of selection. In attacking Romanticism they kick Rousseau all over the field; but it may be noted that in dealing with Wordsworth, or Coleridge, or Shelley, or Keats, or Byron, or even Hugo, they rarely venture upon more than a passing and inconsequential gibe.

It must not be thought that I hold any brief for Romanticism, whose ultimate inadequacy I can see quite as clearly as the American Humanists. On the contrary I claim to be in Matthew Arnold's sense a Humanist, that is one who derives his intellectual nourishment from the best that has been thought and known. But I do object (despite a reverence quite as great as that of the Humanists for classical antiquity) to the ruthless imposition of "classical" standards. After all, those standards cannot be regarded as final. It is not necessary to object, as does Mrs. Padraic Colum in a very acute article contributed to *Scribner's Magazine* for June 1930, that Aristotle (whatever his value as a philosopher) was unequipped to deal with aesthetics, to suspect that not all Aristotle's *dicta* have the force of Gospel, or to believe that criticism because of Aristotle is to remain "hawg-tied," as American farmers would say, world without end, Amen.

To this aesthetic *crux* I shall come in time; this is merely a passing reference to it. The Humanist programme has several other important sections. As the late Father Francis

Burke—perhaps the most gifted young American Jesuit of his time—pointed out, " It upholds a law of thought ; or again, a way of life ; or yet again, a rule of art ; or finally, a mode of speech."[1] All these ways ought to be considered before we come to what is the principal point of attack upon the Humanist position—its aesthetic theory. But only a partial and exceedingly summary account can be given. For instance, Irving Babbitt's educational theories seem not only sound but are shared by many who would not call themselves Humanists. Here the opposition is directed against the two academic types who divide up between themselves practically the whole field of American education—the Baconian who wishes everything to be done for the sake of science and practicality, and his dilettante colleague, the aesthetic Rousseauist. As against this, the Humanists advocate an education in culture rather than in hustle, but wish it to be thorough. Broadly speaking, too, they stand for the French ideal of scholarship as opposed to that German pedantry which is dominant in nearly all the American universities, or for literature instead of philology.

When we come to the philosophical basis of Humanism, there is, however, greater reason for being doubtful. For, after all, we are not finally told what it is we should believe, or whether even we should believe anything, but are only presented with a technique of thought, a critical method of arriving at whatever degree of certitude we are capable of reaching. Man, the centre of the universe or, as Protagoras put it, the measure of things, is obliged to be a Positivist to be a Humanist—but a Positivist with a difference. The difference is that his Positivism at last becomes complete : all experience is taken for his province, and not merely external and physical fact. As Father Burke writes : " He finds that there is a higher and internal experience far more real than the external. Indeed, he so insists upon the utter reality of this internal experience that he seems, like the young Newman, to ' think this life a dream . . . and all this world a deception,' a deception which puts on the mask of

[1] *Thought*, Vol. v (1931), p. 641.

idity and change, of things sensible and desirable, things ltiple and relative." [1]

All this is tinged with the colours of the Orient, as, too, the Humanists' ethics. But they are not quite able to get their American upbringing or their ancestral Puritanism. nd this is something that their opponents will not allow them forget. Their rule of temperance somehow is made to pear prim. To make virtue to consist in "refraining" of course to give it a negative emphasis, and one that for e American intellectual—only lately escaped from the rational taboos of Puritanism—has very disagreeable connotions. "Why the deuce," asks Mr. Edmund Wilson, with rdonable asperity, "is virtue, with the Humanists, always ade to reside exclusively in what Babbitt calls the 'will refrain'? 'Humanism,' says Professor Babbitt, in making distinction between Humanism and religion, 'is not primarily nthusiastic.' So far as I can see, it is not enthusiastic at l. Professor Babbitt goes on to say that the Humanist, nough he 'cannot afford to be an enthusiast in Rousseau's nse, on the other hand should not neglect the truth of ousseau's saying that cold reason has never done anything lustrious. But the writings of the Humanists strike us with chill even more mortal than that of reason. And how can ne take seriously a philosophy which enjoins nothing but egative behaviour?—as if humanity were not, now as always, s much in need of being exhorted against coldness and indifference and routine as against irresponsible exuberance—specially Anglo-Saxon humanity."[2] This, though it contains nuch that is perfectly true, is not free—as nobody knows etter than Mr. Wilson himself—from unfairness. The Humanists wish to practise all the cardinal virtues of Paganism lus the evangelical virtues. The trouble is that, not wishing o submit themselves to external authority, their ethical ounsels tend to become mere prohibitions, refraining for efraining's sake—and than that hardly anything could be ss attractive. "I delight to do thy will, O God!" cried

[1] *Thought*, Vol. v (1931), p. 644.

[2] *The Critique of Humanism*, 46.

David, "Thy law is my delight." But, then, David was no a Humanist.

The Humanist programme, though embracing many departments of human interest—having a sociological, political, an economic, an educational, a philosophical, and a religious aspect—tends to boil down to a religion without God and a system of aesthetics without art. The cry of "Back to Aristotle" is, however, not exactly one to arouse slumbering genius; and while few of the opponents of the Humanists would think of denying the need for artistic standards, there is reason for doubt whether much is to be gained by a revival of Classicism.

The Humanists, with the eighteenth century in mind, are quick to tell us of course that they are not out for "Neo-Classicism," though they do not explain how Classicism can be anything but Neo-Classicism now. Further they even try to draw a distinction between Classicism and Humanism though without succeeding in making clear precisely what the distinction is. Mr. Gorham Munson informs us that Humanism lays stress on the inner life, Neo-Classicism on the external conventions. "The New Humanist," he writes "maintains the seat of authority in himself: he studies with zeal the wisdom stored in tradition, but he insists on his internal corroboration of that wisdom as the all-important thing."[1] This amounts to saying that the Humanist avails himself of the Classical tradition, without feeling that he is bound by it, just as he avails himself of the Christian tradition in so far as it suits his purpose, without being under any obligation to accept the Christian revelation. But Mr. Munson is candid enough immediately to add: "If the New Humanism could be set forth in a perfectly dry detailed code you may be certain that it would not be Humanism, but only another recurrence of Neo-Classicism."

Broadly this is no doubt true, though it must be remembered that Mr. Munson is speaking only for himself and that no Humanist is empowered to do more. No two Humanists hold a creed identical in all its articles, but it is

[1] *The Dilemma of the Liberated*, 109–110.

vertheless possible to describe them as a group accurately ough by saying that they would like to pluck the flowers the Christian religion (as of the classical tradition) in eclectic shion; that they are even willing to be Catholics upon rotestant principles.

## II

Historically considered, it should be remembered that the ovement, if it can be called such, did not begin in 1929, hich is only the date when Humanism began to be widely iscussed in America. Though George Santayana has never lentified himself with the movement and though his influence ; never acknowledged, it was a potent force in the formation f the Humanists' ideas. In Professor Santayana there was ust the synthesis needed: a sympathetic understanding of Catholic culture united to a subtle scepticism and expressed n a style of persuasive loveliness.

But we may go beyond Santayana and see forerunners of the movement in Matthew Arnold, James Russell Lowell, and even Emerson. It is true that Mr. G. R. Elliott, in his essay on "The Pride of Modernity" contributed to *Humanism and America*, has some caustic criticism to offer of Emerson, whom he calls the last great Protestant. "To-day," he writes, "wherever two or three, or two or three hundred, are gathered together in the name of God (modern)—in the name of the Over-Soul or the Under-Soul, of Reality, Nature, Humanity, Hinduism, Good Will, Progress, World Peace, World Religion, Individual Freedom, yea and even Enlightened Disillusion—there is Emerson in the midst of them."[1] But though his spiritual children do not use his terminology, they are not less his sons for that reason. Mr. Elliott is merely trying to relieve himself of an embarrassment.

The movement as we know it, however, is most clearly identified with the work of three men: William C. Brownell, Irving Babbitt, and Paul Elmer More. A word or two should be said about them and about their disciples.

Mr. Brownell (1851-1928) was primarily a man of letters,

[1] P. 89.

and one of great distinction, being the author of *French Traits* (1889), *Standards* (1917), and *The Spirit of Society* (1927). His work acted as a leaven, but he took no active part in controversy, and died just before the Humanist Movement began to make real headway.

Irving Babbitt (1865-1933) was a Professor of French at Harvard University. Not only through his books, *Literature and the American College* (1908), *The New Laokoon* (1910), *Rousseau and Romanticism* (1919) and *Democracy and Leadership* (1924), but because of his academic position he had a tremendous influence upon his time. His students included men so variously brilliant as Van Wyck Brooks, T. S. Eliot, Stuart P. Sherman, Norman Foerster and Walter Lippmann; and though only one of these (Foerster) can be considered a thorough-going disciple—for Eliot follows a path of his own, and Sherman at the end of his life apostatised—he nevertheless put his mark upon all those who came in contact with him. From him the movement inherited its detestation of Rousseau (which has seemed at times almost an obsession) and its acrimonious controversial manner. He must be regarded as upon the whole the most representative Humanist, especially in the matter of Humanism's relation to religion. For he kept himself in an attitude of perfect detachment, neither affirming nor denying anything with regard to the supernatural, while yet attempting to ally himself with those who held definite religious beliefs.

Paul Elmer More (1864- ), who was, like Babbit, for a time a Professor at Harvard (where he taught Sanskrit), afterwards became literary editor in succession of the *Independent*, the *New York Evening Post*, and the *Nation*. But he eventually retired to devote himself entirely to literary work.

One must confess a feeling of immense respect when viewing the eleven volumes of the *Shelbourne Essays* and his five-volume work *The Greek Tradition*. But I cannot help adding that I, like so many other people, am in turns depressed and irritated by a learning so profound, an industry so prodigious, a style so cold, and an arrogance so monstrous. As a pur-

eyor of ideas every intelligent man of this generation is in is debt, but when it comes to matters of critical theory, and till more of critical appreciation, he provokes a strong ntagonism. Van Wyck Brooks, no doubt with Mr. More nainly in mind, has written of the Humanists : " Not guides nd friends of the creative spirit but incredulous pedagogues y necessity, they have been really driven to destroy in others he poet that has died in themselves. Of their ' humanism ' et this be the merciful epitaph."[1]

In *Letters and Leadership*, first published in 1918, and e-issued as one of the *Three Essays on America* in 1934, Mr. Brooks has voiced the dissatisfaction so many of us feel with Mr. More as a literary critic :—

> Far from being reasonable and humane, his note is one of nagging, pettish, and one would almost say vulgar exasperation ; he betrays a tendency to break out on every occasion into promiscuous abuse. How then can our intellectualists expect to convert us to the music of the classical discipline when some of their most representative minds—for Mr. More is by no means unique as an advocate of " the classic point of view "—are so singularly ill-nurtured ?
>
> The reason why Mr. More's humane attitude cracks and crumbles so at the touch of life is because it is based on a culture of the intellect that is not borne out by a corresponding culture of the feelings. Mr. More's emotional life, as his writings exhibit it, is just as crude and untempered as the intellectual life of the younger generation which he attacks. Why is this so ? Because Mr. More's intellectualism is the converse and counterpart of the materialism that has led to the younger generation's incapacity to accept the discipline he offers it. He has not been able to feel human values finely because to have done so would have been to upset his faith in a society based not upon the creative instincts but upon the acquisitive instincts of men, a society ruled by the " natural aristocracy " of economic power. Mr. More is a belated pioneer, with all the repressed impulses, the fundamental limitations, the exaggerated antipathies that belong to the pioneer type, extended and subtilized in the sphere of the intellect alone. Turn from his philosophical and literary essays, in which he is able to be humane at large, to his essays on social and economic themes and see how quickly he lets the cat out of the bag. "Looking at the

[1] Quoted from an article by Seward Collins in the *Bookman*, Vol. lxxi (1930), p. 359. I have failed to find this passage in any of Mr. Brooks' books, and it may have been taken by Mr. Collins from an un-reprinted article.

larger good of society," he observes, "we may say that the dollar is more than the man and that *the rights of property are more important than the rights of life.*" [1]

Van Wyck Brooks was writing there, as always, not as the spokesman for the "younger generation" of American writers, but as the exponent of his central thesis, advanced with such astonishing skill in his *Ordeal of Mark Twain*, that the conditions of life in America are inimical to the life of the spirit. Whatever else Mr. Brooks may be, he is certainly no foe of the classical tradition, but he is opposed to any attempt to smother creative genius under the deadweight of pedantic aesthetic theory.

In a much rougher and more boisterous fashion Mr. H. L. Mencken was at the same time saying much the same thing. But it was quite indifferent to him whether he cracked the skull of a politician, a Methodist bishop, a Rotarian, or a college professor. The only thing he considered was whether the skull needed cracking.

It must be admitted that in his way Mr. Mencken did much useful service. He made it his business to expose humbug and chicanery, and did it rowdily but in a style as vigorous as it was lucid. The trouble was that he did it too well. Nothing further was left to explode, and his readers grew a little weary of it all. His large following had already begun to desert him—not so much because they no longer agreed with him as because there was no longer any intellectual distinction in being a reader of the *American Mercury*—when the New Humanists gathered into their fold most of the young men and women who were now without a shepherd. There can be no doubt that Mr. Mencken and Mr. Brooks had prepared the way for Humanism without at all intending to do so.

This criticism on the part of Van Wyck Brooks and H. L. Mencken was made long before the fierce controversy of 1930, and it remains the gist of the objection to Humanism. It is probably true enough that many of the younger American writers supposed that the Humanists were training their guns

[1] *Three Essays on America*, 159–160.

gainst them, as it is certainly true that they resented the ne of much of their criticism of contemporary literature. rofessor Babbitt, whose ink always contained a large ingre- ent of acid, had written: "If true art consists in having omething to say and then saying it simply, the characteristics f this modern art is to have nothing to say and then to say in a mysterious and complicated manner."[1] But if they ere seriously offended at such a passage—written in 1910 nd with reference to the "modern" music of that time—hey must have been touchy indeed. With greater reason hey suspected that Messrs. Babbitt and More regarded dis- ainfully most things that were new, and reserved their pproval only for what was old. Explicit statements to the ontrary scattered here and there in Irving Babbitt's works [2] id not serve to reassure them; for they could not fail to erceive that the specific cases of criticism went against them- elves. The real ground for complaint was that they were eing talked to rather toploftily by men who, however learned hey might be, were not creative artists and were out of ympathy with the creative spirit. It was a Battle of the Books with the professors ranged on one side and the literary nen on the other. The case for the creative writers against Mr. Babbitt was put by Mary Colum, when she said: "It s doubtful if ever before in the history of literature great writers have been treated with such condescension by a man of intellect and learning as they are in the books of Professor Babbitt: Goethe, Baudelaire, Ibsen, Shelley, Keats, Words- worth, Coleridge are talked down to as if they were irrespon- sible small boys because their work, or part of their work, does not fit into his conception of wisdom and moral respon- sibility."[3] Or again, in an earlier article, she wrote: "His mind, so powerful and vigorous in the domain of pure ideas, flounders around in a fog when it has to cope with any litera- ture for which pure intelligence cannot supply a measuring-rod, or where he cannot launch his thunderbolts against instinct."[4]

[1] *The New Laokoon*, 146.
[2] Cf. *Modern French Criticism*, 362; *The New Laokoon*, 250.
[3] *Scribner's Magazine*, Vol. lxxxvii (1930), p. 599.
[4] *Scribner's Magazine*, Vol. lxxxvii (1930), p. 205.

The same charge is brought against the other leadin Humanist by Rebecca West : " Paul Elmer More the Platonis is a centre of light, whom one can neglect only at a heavy cost t oneself. I am sure of that. But I am equally sure that Pau Elmer More the critic of modern literature is a guide that on can follow only at a heavy cost to oneself."[1] She conclude by drawing up a list of the New Humanists : adding to th names already mentioned in this article those of G. R. Elliott Frank J. Mather, Alan R. Thompson, Robert Shafer, Sherloc B. Gass, Henry H. Clark, and Richard L. Brown; then asks wit a rhetorical flourish whether for these we are to exchange Proust Joyce, Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, and Virginia Moore. Only on man of genius does she allow to the Humanists—T. S. Eliot– " and he in spite of his genius has long ceased to create."[2]

The argument is not quite convincing, for though it is n doubt true that those who possess creative power are mos likely to understand its nature and though generally speakin it takes a poet to be a critic of poetry, the value of criticism finally has to be determined not by the prestige or positio of the critic but by the soundness of his conclusions. Rebecc West is a novelist as well as a critic ; but she was a criti before she wrote novels. Nobody rules Van Wyck Brook out of court because he has never produced anything excep criticism, though there are many who deny his conclusion without ceasing to admire the delicate skill of his method H. L. Mencken did indeed in his youth perpetrate a book o verse, but so far from that making him a good critic of poetry it is notorious that he is at his weakest (and knows it) whe he is dealing with purely aesthetic matters. But nobody ca dispute his great competency in his own field. In the same way full credit must be given to Messrs. Babbitt and More and their followers for their work in the department of philo- sophy ; unfortunately in invading the field of pure letters they were dealing with matters for which they lacked adequate equipment. It was a great pity, because the controversy was soon almost wholly confined to the aesthetics of Humanism, and by becoming discredited at this point, a movement which had at one time promised so much lost ground everywhere.

[1] The *Bookman*, lxxxi (1930), p. 517. [2] *Ibid.* 522.

## III

We should not however conclude too hastily that it is permanently discredited. The books are there for anybody to read who chooses to do so. And they will be read—with less irritation, as time goes on, than they arouse at present. The Humanist Movement as such I believe to be dead; but many of the Humanist ideas are still very much alive and are likely to be fruitful in the future. They are likely even to be of service in the realm of criticism, though more probably they can be expected to provide little more than incidental points for the germination of other ideas. The system as such is not likely to survive, for the Humanist synthesis was never stable enough to maintain itself successfully against determined attack.

The younger men have gone back to their class-rooms and their studies, chastened by conflict. Paul Elmer More, who is now seventy-one, cannot be expected to produce much more. His *Catholic Faith* (1931) brought him as near to the threshold of the Catholic Church as a Humanist can go and yet remain a Humanist. There is no sign of his taking the last step, against which he has erected a rampart of huge blocks quarried from Plato, Confucius, and his Protestant upbringing. There is no leader of his ability in sight.

But we must not conclude that Humanism, as a definite movement, perished because it was worsted in argument. Its opponents did, indeed, find many flaws in the body of doctrine so solemnly and portentously presented for their acceptance. But they had no system of their own. And neither side is as yet prepared to admit that in Catholic culture—if with it divine revelation has to be accepted—is the synthesis in which all may repose. The conflict ended not because either side had gained a decisive victory (though each side claimed it), but only because of a series of accidents.

One was that just when Humanism began to boom in America, the country was swamped with the Depression. There were soon more immediately urgent things to think about than a precariously sustained philosophy and a questionable aesthetics.

Then, too, America is a country at once eager to respond to fads and fickle even over matters more solid than fads. Humanism was supplanted by Technocracy as a topic of discussion. By the time Technocracy was discredited, everybody (or nearly everybody) had forgotten all about Humanism.

It so happened that the Humanists were identified (and as may be seen from the passage quoted here from Van Wyck Brooks on Paul Elmer More) with some justice as the upholders of the view that hardly anything is so sacred as the rights of property. I do not say that that weighed very heavily against them, but it was not without weight.

Even had the Depression not occurred, I believe that the Humanist Movement would have declined before long. The Humanists were deficient in humanity. Despite all their talk about the *élan vital* and the *frein vital*, their personal vitality was not conspicuous. And they started their campaign at the worst possible moment—the moment when all that one had to do to spike an opponent's guns was to accuse him of being a Puritan. Behind Mr. More's face the majority of those who heard of Humanism fancied they discerned not the shadow of Plato but of Calvin. America was ramping to get loose in order to prohibit Prohibition, and the frigid dictum that virtue consists in refraining was in itself enough to start a riot. The word "decorum," which the Humanists used in its correct sense, sounded prim and spinsterish in American ears. The pagan virtues presented to the newly emancipated intellectuals struck them (so great was their ignorance) as specially characteristic of those illiberal sects from which they had with so much difficulty emerged. They had no intention of submitting themselves to discipline of any sort if they could help it.

Nevertheless they will have to accept discipline in the end if they are to survive as intellectuals. And here the Humanists hold a strong card. But it is not the strongest card in the pack; *that* is held by the Catholic Church.

THEODORE MAYNARD

# ROYALIST IRELAND*

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LIBERTY, to the parliamentary squire or republican bourgeois, means freedom to do what he and those of his class decide, after discussion, to be advantageous to them. Liberty to the royalist means freedom to live his customary life under the patronage of his customary lord. Till the days of Tone the liberty for which the Irish fought was royalist liberty; for till then the words of the late seventeenth century patriot, Hugh O'Reilly, held good: "The true reason why the Irish were so unequally dealt with was that they were all Catholicks, never tainted with any Republican Principles" (O'R., p. 78).

To have attempted to impose bourgeois liberty on a royalist nation would have been both foolish and unjust, as foolish and unjust as would be the opposite course, the imposition of kingly rule on a nation bred on republican principles. Yet Irish patriots of the seventeenth century have often been blamed because, instead of advocating an exotic form of government, they aimed at what would have been suitable for the Ireland of their day, just government by a king who ruled by hereditary right.

Two instances of devotion to families who ruled by hereditary right are to be found in the history of Ulster about the end of the sixteenth century. In 1598 Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, wished to have his kinsman Hugh Gavelock, son of Shane O'Neill, hanged. Hugh himself was loved by

* The following bibliographical contractions have been used: CLARKE—*The life of James the Second . . . collected out of memoirs writ by his own hand*, by the Rev. James S. Clarke, I–II, 1816. Ó B.—*The Poems of David Ó Bruadair*, ed. [with valuable introductions] by Rev. John C. Mac Erlean, S.J., I–III, 1910–1917. O'R.—*Ireland's case briefly stated . . . by a true lover of his king and country* [*i.e.*, Hugh Reilly, or "O'Reilly"] First published in 1695. The 1720 ed. is the one referred to,

This article had been planned and the material for it collected before Dr. R. Hayes's *Irish Swordsmen of France* was published. Dr. P. Browne's Foreword to that book lends the weight of his authority to some of the opinions expressed towards the end of the article.

his people, yet a Meath man had to be brought into Tyrone to act as executioner for him, because "on account of their loyalty and affection for the O'Neill family and the Chief Shane, no man out of all Tyrone could by any means be brought to put Gavelock to death." [1] The second instance is even still more striking. In a cavalry skirmish, Manus, brother of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, met his traitorous kinsman, Niall Garve O'Donnell, who was then fighting on the English side. "Manus . . . would have run through with his spear Garve as he retired, had not the blow been parried by Owen O'Gallagher, surnamed Oge, a comrade of Manus, but actuated by his devotion and affection for Niall's family who were their lords." [2]

In Munster, in the seventeenth century, O'Sullivan Mór and O'Sullivan Beare were, in Carte's words, "reduced to a very indigent condition, being maintained purely by the hospitality and contribution of their old vassals and dependants." They were arrested by the Duke of Ormonde at the time of the Titus Oates Plot, and they "submitted to be taken up without the least opposition or attempt of escaping, though," says Carte, "it is certain that the affection which their followers bore them was such that they would have died by their side, if they had been minded to oppose being taken into custody." [3] In James the Second's reign a regiment recruited in Clare refused to go to France unless an O'Brien would lead them. [4] And in the early eighteenth century the Kerry poet, Egan O'Rahilly, expressed reluctance to be dependent on anyone but a member of the MacCarthy family, "the princes under whom his ancestors were before Christ died." [5]

It is clear, then, that loyalty to hereditary rulers was once a common thing in Ireland. It was loyalty of this nature that enabled a Gaelic way of life to continue in local

[1] *Ireland under Elizabeth . . . being a portion of the History of Catholic Ireland* by Don Philip O'Sullivan Bear. Tr. . . . by M. J. Byrne, 1903, p. 65.
[2] *Ibidem*, p. 136.
[3] Carte, quoted by Fr. Mac Erlean in Ó B., II, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii.
[4] *Négociations de M. le Comte d'Avaux en Irlande*, Ir. MSS. Commission facsimile, 1934, p. 683.
[5] Ir. Texts Soc., III[1], pp. 30–32, 116.

dships throughout the country till the close of the venteenth century.

Long before the seventeenth century, however, loyalty a ruling family had ceased to play a part in the central litics of the Irish nation.

In the year 941 Muircheartach of the Skin Cloaks, King of leach, won hostages from the sub-kings of Ireland. These stages he brought to Tara, where he handed them over to s relative Donnchadh, son of Flann, son of Maoil Sheach-inn, High King of Ireland.

About the year 1000, Brian Bóramha, Ruler of the alcassians, having subdued the Norsemen of Munster and einster, might, by some signal act of loyalty modelled on at of Muircheartach, have established the three-hundred ears old dynasty of the Descendants of Niall even more curely in the High-kingship. Instead he decided to destroy e old dynasty in the hope of establishing one descended om himself which would be stronger and more effective. In this tempt he was unsuccessful. Brian had broken the bond of yalty which bound the sub-kings to the Dynasty descended om Niall. He had created no new loyalty to replace it.

It was this lack of a well-established central loyalty hich was responsible for the Gaelic nation's collapse before e Norman invaders in 1170, a collapse which had sad results the fields of literature, learning, and public order. More an once in subsequent centuries an attempt was made to pel injustice and fresh aggression. The result, however, ade it clear that, to become a vital principle of ordered nity, the idea of " common weal " would have to be realised a person in whom also was realised the idea of a hereditary lationship to the Irish akin to the relationship which exists etween father and son. No Brian O'Neill (1258), no Bruce 315), no FitzGerald, no Hugh O'Neill, representing merely e public interest, could succeed in awakening the necessary niversal enthusiasm, because no one of them could claim niversal allegiance on the grounds that his ancestors had ntinuously enjoyed such allegiance since the days " before hrist died."

The Irish believed that the Kings of England enjoy lordship over Ireland by papal authority. Armed with su authority it would undoubtedly have been possible for a seri of just rulers to have changed the unwilling submission the Irish into a strong and enthusiastic loyalty. This, ho ever, the English kings did not attempt to do.

At the end of the seventeenth century two Catholic Iris men belonging to Gaelic families summarised in a few pag the feelings of the Gaelic Irish towards the kings of Englan Of these one, incomparably the finer man of the two, w the lawyer Hugh O'Reilly, an Ulsterman. He wrote in exi to teach some future Stuart monarch how Ireland ought t be governed. The other, a Munsterman, disappointed wit the treatment he had received as an officer in Sarsfield army, wrote to tell William of Orange how he might win th Gaelic Irish to his side.

Though their views on the politics of their own day wer so different, these two men are in agreement concerning th past, showing that their summaries represent accepted trad tion. The Munsterman's name is unknown. He signs himse " O. N." He begins further back than O'Reilly, and blame a number of English monarchs for the injustice of their rul in Ireland. He makes no excuses for them. Having spoke of " Mary Queen of Scotland who declar'd herselfe the righ heir to the Crowne of England in the Lawes of God & man, he goes on as follows : " When her son King James the firs came to be king of England, & consequently of Ireland, h past new penall Lawes . . . to humour the parliament & the mobilé of England that real[l]y was not fitt to be governe by soe easy and peaceable a King, & brought a Colony o Scotts to inhabitt the north of Ireland."[1]

O'Reilly similarly speaks of Elizabeth's tyranny as bein her own ; but of James he says that before he became Kin of England he helped the Earl of Tyrone, and he attributes hi later injustice to the influence of " Crook-back'd Cecil."

This vaguely friendly feeling towards the first of th Stuart kings is reflected in Irish poetry. Fearghal Og Ma

[1] *The Groans of Ireland*, National Library MS., No. 39.

n Bhaird welcomed him, at the beginning of his reign, as a young prince of lofty mind," and considered that "the vondrous crown of Ireland was an honour not too great for im." [1] An anonymous poet, writing, apparently, after James ad been reigning for some little time, thought that Ovid's vork should be added to. In Ovid's day metamorphoses ad all been for the worse. The changes that had taken lace in the Irish poet's day, however, were all for the better: eres had taken the place of Mars, and the coming of "Cing éamas" had brought about the "scattering of every nist." The poet refers to King James as "our king," a itle which suggests a closer union between the King and is Irish subjects than the formal Rí Saxan of earlier poets.[2]

It is clear, then, that the Irish had hoped to receive justice rom the first of the Stuart monarchs. Both O'Reilly, and the Munster officer whose words have been quoted, attribute the frustration of those hopes mainly to the evil influence of the extreme Protestant party. O'Reilly gives a similar explanation of the injustice done to the Irish in the time of Charles I, and he proves Charles's fundamental good-will towards the Irish Catholics by quotations from his writings (O'R., pp. 32–34, 50, 67–68). This belief in the personal good-will of the first Stuart kings undoubtedly accounts for the fact that loyalty, instead of diminishing, steadily increased in their time. The Four Masters, writing about the year 1633, speak of certain Munstermen who opposed Queen Elizabeth in 1582 as "traitors" (p. 1777), and regard opposition to the English

[1] Poem beginning *Trí coróna a gcairt Shémuis*, R.I.A.MS., A, v. 2, 41.

[2] The poem on King James begins *Mór theasda dh'obair Oivid*, R.I.A. MS., 23 L 17, 116b, l. 1, 22.

The title Rí Saxan was used courteously of Edward III by Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh in *Mór ar bhfearg riot, a Rí Saxan*, R.I.A. MS., A IV 3, p. 652, and by Gearóid Iarla in an unpublished poem in the Bk. of Fermoy, p. 160, l. 4. It was used in a spirit of fierce hostility by that poet who held in Henry VIII's time that it was folly for the Irish nobles to believe that they would get from him as much land "as would choke a worm": *Ní bhfaghdaois ó Rígh Shaxan | d'Éirinn tachtadh na duirbe* (A. de Blácam, *Gael Lit. Surveyed*, p. 126). Even Flann mac Eóghain Mhé Craith, who was exceptional in a number of ways, never went so far, when praising Queen Elizabeth, as to call her "our Queen." She remains for him "monarch of England" and "ruler of London" (*prionnsa Saxan*, §1, *ri Saxan*, §7, *triath Lonndan*, §13: *cf.* ed. by Fr. Mac Erlean in Ó B., III, p. 64 *sq.*). That she holds Ireland is, in his opinion, a fact of which she may be proud in the same way as she may be proud of her victories in France, Spain, and Germany.

In a 17th century Irish tract on the Genealogy of the Collas (*Leabhar Cloinne A. B.*, ed. T. Ó Donnchadha, p. 53) Henry VIII is called *Rí Saxan*, Elizabeth similarly *Bainrioghan Shaxan*, but James is called *Rí Saxan, Alban agus na hÉirionn*, "King of England Scotland and Ireland."

crown as a fault in an otherwise admirable man (same year, p. 1779). The leaders of the insurrection of 1641, both Ulstermen and southerners, though determined to defend their rights in arms, nevertheless consistently proclaimed their loyalty, and between the years 1648 and 1660 they gave practical proof of it.

To dismiss the question of the loyalty of the Irish leaders in 1641 with the answer that it was feigned loyalty is to accuse men who were ready to die for their religion of dishonesty and contempt for the truth. That loyalty to the King was, as an active principle, confined to the responsible leaders of the people is, however, made clear by the Irish poetry of the time. With most of the responsible leaders too, we may imagine, it was a loyalty of the head rather than of the heart, a loyalty that was very far indeed from the passionate loyalty of an Egan O'Rahilly towards those "under whom his ancestors were before Christ died." Thus the poet who saw the vision of the Síoguidhe Rómhánach in Rome, shortly after the death of Owen Roe but before the final failure of the Irish cause, has no good word to say of either James or Charles; and Charles's death at the hands of the wicked Parliamentarians seems to him to have been a just retribution for that King's crimes against the Irish.[1] Seán O Conaill, in his Tuireamh na hEireann,[2] written some years later than the Síoguidhe Rómhánach, includes James among the wicked kings. Charles he does not mention.

By 1649 all of the Irish Catholic insurgents had come to terms with the King. From that on the King's cause was theirs. Two years later, Owen Roe having died and Hugh Duff having been defeated, that cause was lost and the exodus to France began. There the Irish gathered round the exiled Charles, sharing his fortunes and loyally obeying his commands. They changed from the Spanish to the French service when he required it; and it was they who, in Hugh O'Reilly's words, "gain'd him most of his bread during the dismal time of his banishment" (O'R., p. 70).

While what was left of the Irish army was in France

[1] *Lia Fáil.* 1932, pp. 202–202. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 215, *sq.*

owing the ensign of a Stuart who lived with them and
s their friend, the nation at home was crushed beneath
tyranny of the usurper, a tyranny so dreadful that David
Bruadair, looking back on it in the days of Charles II,
uld only conclude that God, in punishment for some sin
the Irish, had given "power to kill, rob, and torment
em into the hands of those who betrayed King Charles"
B., Pt. III, p. 12). In comparison with Cromwell's tyranny
injustice suffered under the exiled Stuart's father seemed
ght, and some of the affection that had grown up for the
n was extended to include the murdered father. A poet
the day addressing Ireland says: "Thou hast lost thy
ad, thy children, and thy spouse," and in the lines which
low he has made it clear who it was he had in mind. The
ad was Charles I; the children were the nobles and warriors
Ireland; the spouse was the beloved Owen Roe. When
is poet, in the last stanza of the same poem, addresses the
iled Irish, we hear, for the first time since the days of Brian,
note of enthusiasm in Irish poetry for a universally accepted
ng of Ireland: "[I pray],"he says, "that ye return in
rength and security, with your Crowned King as leader
fore you, and the Duke of York as bulwark of the learned,
ile ye come rejoicing into your just inheritance." [1]

Charles II, when he returned, had not the power to do
nat he would have wished. The Irish who had fought for
m, during three years of the Irish war and all through his
ng exile on the continent, were bitterly disappointed:

I dtamall a thaistil do leanadar díne é amuich,
is d'fhanadar farais go caithiomh a gcaointréimhse:
ar gcasadh do bhaile níl acu dá ndíméadaibh
acht amharc a bhfearann mar mhadra an mhill d'fhéachain.[2]

evertheless, understanding that it was better to endure

[1] *Do chaillis do cheann, do chlann, do chéile, | mar atá Séarlas séanmhar séadach, | rluighe, do thighearnuighe, do thréinfhir, | is Eóghan na ccath mac Airt Uí Néill shoir.* st stanza *Teacht dibh fá neart tar ais gan bhádogal | is bhúr Rígh corónta reomhuibh mar dar | is an Duke of York mar phosta cléire | ag teacht fa mheadhair ann bhúr n-oighreacht n cirt* (R.I.A. MS., 23 C 8, p. 44 *sq.*).

[2] While he wandered abroad a great number of them followed him, and remained h him till their good period was completed: when they returned home, all they got their demesnes was to gaze at their lands as the dog gazed at the lump of beef (Ó B., III, pp. 16, 17).

injustice at the hands of one who regretted doing it than be crushed beneath the relentless tyranny of an enemy, the remained firm in their loyalty. The enthusiasm of the po who pictured the exiled Charles II leading the Irish joyous into their own is heard no longer. The poets, howeve still continue to speak of his father, Charles I, as " The King and they continue to show abhorrence both for the Scots wh sold him and the English who killed him.[1] They may critici the Court of Claims set up by Charles II.[1] They may critici Charles's Anglicised Irish governor, the Duke of Ormon (O B., Pt. I, p. 196), but for the King himself they reta something of their former affection, so that even Ormond critic, O Bruadair, may use the affectionate term *mo phrionn* " my prince " when speaking of the King himself, in a stanz written to give courage to a friend who had been summone to London to answer a false accusation of being implicate in the Titus Oates Plot. (O B., Pt. II, p. 218). In anothe poem, written about the same time to congratulate Lor Chief Justice Keating on the fearless decisions he had give against false witnesses at the Munster assizes, O Bruada said it was right to love the King[2] who, after Barons He and Hartstonge had failed through fear to speak their mind sent to them " the champion who fairly unravelled the to tuosity of the Plot." In the same poem he prays for " th good king of England, Charles son of Charles, our helm, generous prince whose love is for his people, the hand whic choked the hidden cockle " ; and in another verse he speak of him as *an caoimhri*, " the pleasant king."

[1] Scots : *Albanaigh do reacadar a Rí lá ar ór*, line which I quote from memory. I a unable at the moment to identify the poem in which it occurs.

English : *aicme tug bhót re sgólla a chinn don Rígh*, in Tomás Ó Muilriain's poem again the Court of Claims, R.I.A. MS., 23 C 8, p. 78 ; *go bhfeacadar breath na bhfear ar Shéarl Rígh*, Geoffrey O'Donoghue in poem on same subject, Dinneen's ed., 1902, l. 663. Bo lines were written in criticism of trusting regicides (*i.e.*, men of Cromwellian sympathie with the settlement of Irish land-claims. Geoffrey O'Donoghue, though such a bitt critic of the Court of Claims, has left another sign of loyalty in a genealogy of the Stuart followed by notes on " Kinge Charles the Second " and " James, Duke of York," writte by his own hand on blank pages in a MS. bardic grammar bought by him in Dublin abo the middle of the 17th century (24 P 8, pp. 248, 252, and p. 1).

Sir Séamas Mac Coitir so abhorred the regicides that, in 1664, he in person shot Joh Lisle in Lausanne, where Lisle had taken refuge after the Restoration. (See S. H O'Grady, *Catalogue*, p. 584). Later two Irish poets praised Sir Séamas for his dee (Ó B., Pt. III, p. 186 ; Uilliam Mac Cartáin, in O'Grady's *Catalogue*, p. 583f.)

[2] *Cóir a charthain*, Ó B., Pt. II, p. 276, stanza 29. For what follows *cf.* same poe stanzas 22–23, 44, 26, 35, etc.

The attitude of the Irish towards the English Crown about e end of Charles II's reign may, therefore, be summed as one of unswerving loyalty, a loyalty in which, for the st time since the days of Brian, the whole people were ited. The enthusiasm once felt for Charles, "the leader" no as "Crowned King" was to reinstate the disinherited bles, had disappeared when the King broke the promises had made. But towards Charles the administrator who sened the burden of unjust laws by lenient enforcing of em and who, by his personal influence,[1] saved many Irishmen om implication in the charges of the Titus Oates period, e Irish rightly felt as men feel towards a protector. Finally r Charles the friend of those Irishmen whom he kept round m at his court,[2] some of the affection of the days of exile mained and showed itself by use of terms such as *mo irionnsa.*

In 1685 Charles II died, and was succeeded by his brother mes II, who, as Duke of York, had already been spoken of ith respect in at least two Irish poems.[3] Bagwell, whose *eland under the Stuarts* is written with poorly concealed Vhig prejudice, speaks in the first line of chap. xlviii (vol. II) of the arrival of "the bad news" in Dublin. Continuing the same strain he states that Sir Standish Hartstonge and me others were removed from their judgeships: "nothing," e holds, "could be said against them, but they were Pro-stants, and that was enough" (p. 154). Having thus ersonally defended Hartstonge, he goes on to quote without mment the objections of certain Protestant writers of the eriod to Nugent, Daly and Rice, the newly appointed atholic judges (p. 155). The determination of a Catholic ing "to employ his subjects of that religion" (p. 159) in the rmy of a country where Catholics formed the overwhelming ajority of the nation, is mentioned without comment but a context which makes the hardship of the dismissed

[1] *Cf.* Mac Erlean, Introduction to Ó B., Pt. II, p. xxxv.

[2] Among them, as Lord of the Bedchamber, a Clandeboy O'Neill whose death is lamented a bardic poem, *Leabhar Cloinne A. B.*, ed. T. Ó Donnchadha, p. 139, footnote; p. 140, 33.

[3] *Supra*, p. 595, note 1; and *infra*, p. 603, note 5.

Protestant officers remain uppermost in the mind of th reader. Of the common soldiers he writes: "The me dismissed were often physically superior to those who su planted them, and many recruits spoke no English, whic in Dublin excited the mockery of street boys." Here would seem to be suggested by the context that to spea no English was a fault in an Irish soldier. Any stick, howeve suffices to beat a Catholic Stuart or his Irish Catholic re presentative, and so Tyrconnell's tendency to enrol Anglo Irish rather than O's and Macs, who certainly would have bee poor speakers of English, is mentioned in a context whic makes that also appear blameworthy (p. 158).

The feelings of the people of Ireland towards James an Tyrconnell were not those of Bagwell's party. To illustrat their unbounded joy it would be necessary to quote ever line of the rollicking song which Diarmaid mac Sheáin Bhuidh Mhéic Cárthaigh made "when he saw Tadhg and Diarmai [*i.e.*, the Irish Catholics] in the army of the said king, an the English-speaking boors returning to their native handi crafts" (in O B., Pt. III, p. 94).

In the poem which O Bruadair wrote in praise of John Keating's fearlessness on the bench in 1682, a reason ha already been given which, in Irish Catholic eyes, would amply justify the removal of Hartstonge from his judgeship Hartstonge at the time of the Titus Oates Plot had not dare to acquit innocent men lest he too might be accused of being implicated in the Plot (O B., Pt. II, poem xxxvi, 23).

O Bruadair's opinion about the appointment of Daly and Rice also differs greatly from the opinions quoted by Bagwell. In a poem which he wrote to show how fearless and just was the King of Gaelic ancestry (§17) then reigning, he claims that "by the will of this powerful kindly ruler . . . on the Bench now are seated Dalys and Rices (and, if he wished it, a sage of the Nagles) to listen to the plea of the man who can't speak lip-dry simpering English" (O B., Pt. III, poem xiii, § 19).

"To be a Protestant," says Bagwell, "was enough" to ensure dismissal. The fact that many Protestants continued

to hold office in Ireland under James is surely in itself a refutation of what Bagwell says. John Keating, for instance, who had endeared himself to the people by reason of his love of justice and his respect for the Gaelic language[1] was a Protestant. Nevertheless he was retained as a judge under the new *régime*. But even O Bruadair, who is surely more open to the charge of anti-Protestant prejudice than either James or Tyrconnell, goes out of his way to say that to be a Protestant was not enough: "Though few of that race," he says, "have ever deserved great affection from my people, I intend to curse none of them but those treacherous ones . . . who are traitors to King James" (O B., Pt. III, poem xiii, 23). Most of the Protestants of Ireland were men of Cromwellian tradition, violently opposed to the new order of things. They therefore came under O Bruadair's category of "traitors to King James," and when some years later they did in fact betray the King, Tyrconnell's and James's foresight in recruiting an army composed of Catholic Irishmen "never tainted with any republican principles" (O'R., 78) had ensured that a last stand for non-sectarian government was to be made in Ireland.

Some years after Diarmaid mac Sheáin Bhuidhe had written his song on the coming of Tadhg and Diarmaid into their own, David O Bruadair wrote a far finer poem as an Amen to Diarmaid's anthem. He called it *Caithréim Thaidhg*, "The Triumph of Tadhg." In it is a stanza which one is tempted to apply to historians of Bagwell's type:

> Ní do bhreóghoin Seón is atharrach
> Tadhg ón sliabh do thiacht san ngradam san
> fear "Cia súd" i gcúram ragairne
> is fear "Who's there" 'na shéithleach airgthe.[2]

In the next stanza O Bruadair describes the grief of "Ralph" as he sees the "bandolier marching to Mass." Then, in

[1] For his justice *cf.* Ó Bruadair's poem already referred to (Ó B., Pt. II, poem xxxvi). For his respect for Irish *cf.* his acceptance of Ó Bruadair's poem (*ibidem*, p. 288). *Cf.* also his decision to test prisoners in court in James's time in Irish rather than in English (S. H. O'Grady, *Catalogue*, p. 560).

[2] This is something which has wounded John [*i.e.*, the Englishman] sorely, and others, too: that Tadhg, from the mountain should rise to so high a rank, that "*Cia súd*" [*i.e.*, the Irish-speaker] should be engaged in revelry, and that "Who's there" [*i.e.*, the English-speaker] should be a harassed wretch (Ó B., Pt. III, poem xx, §4).

copious yet trenchant language that rushes along in strange rhythms reminding one of the flow of a millrace, O Bruadair describes the joy of the common people of Ireland as Irish names and Irish speech, Irish story-telling, Irish songs, Irish music, and Irish dances make their appearance in the parade ranks and guard houses of the Irish Army. After a dozen stanzas in this strain, overflowing with that mixture of humour and fierce earnestness which has left its mark on all that O Bruadair has written, the poet gives thanks to God that the officers too are Irish (§§ 19–20). In another ten stanzas he humorously describes the horror of the one-time ascendancy as they see these changes taking place before their eyes. Then, some stanzas before the end, he prays for James :

A Rí do chruthuigh muir is machaire
buanuigh gan uamhan gan anachuin
an té fád bhríogh do-ní na fearta so
Séamus mac Séarluis ó Albain—

Áirdrí nach sáiríseal seanachas
cnú na gcliar is cliath ár gcabhartha
fíor-Ghaoidheal do ríoghchraoibh ár gCaisil-ne
is Franncach do plandadh ó Pharamond.[1]

An Ulster poet, writing in 1687 of an O'Neill who had died in London, said : " Well did he serve his High King." [2] Is it accidental coincidence that this title, once reserved for the kings who ruled all Ireland from Tara, is also accorded to James by the Munster O Bruadair ? Certainly it is not by accident that in the verses just quoted, and also in another poem (O B., Pt. III, poem xiii, §17), O Bruadair dwells on the fact that James has the blood of Gaelic kings in his veins. The Connacht historian, Roderick O'Flaherty, in a genealogy of James's son, the young Prince of Wales, printed in Dublin in 1688,[3] draws attention to the same fact. James, therefore, in the eyes of the Irish, was not only a ruler who ruled

[1] O King Who hast created sea and plain, preserve fearless and unharmed him who beneath Thy power performs these wonders, James son of Charles from Scotland—a High King not ignoble of pedigree, the darling of the learned and the bulwark that protects us, a true Gael of our own Cashel's royal stem, and also a Frenchman [of the stock] planted by Pharamond.

[2] Rory Óg O'Haughian in *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe*, ed. T. Ó Donnchadha, poem xviii, 136.

[3] Typis H. Crook & S. Helsham.

accordance with those principles which, after his defeat, laid down in his Instructions for his son, that a king must ve " a fatherly love and care " of his subjects, and that of old natives of Ireland " especial care must be taken, as ll for justice sake as for their loyalty . . . . " [1] he also ful- ed the secondary qualification which Egan O'Rahilly, as have seen, suggests was a necessity for one who was to e over the Irish people of his day : James's ancestors, before Christ died," had ruled and protected the ancestors the Irish.

James has himself told us what his scheme of government is, and, veracity and earnestness being his chief virtues,[2] ere is no reason to doubt his word : A strong king was to sure equal justice for all his subjects, who had hitherto en at the mercy of party bigots [3] ; a healing of the divisions hich disturbed the peace of the three kingdoms was to be fected by granting liberty of conscience to all Christians [4] ; England and Scotland there was to be Protestant periority [5] ; in Ireland he hoped ultimately to establish tholic superiority.[6]

This program, and the impolitic methods by which James ed to enforce it, proved unacceptable to the extreme otestant party in England. Accordingly, on the birth of son to the Queen in 1689, the prospect of a series of Catholic ngs to continue the work inaugurated by James led the nglish Protestant leaders to plan the Revolution.

In Ireland public opinion was very different. Diarmaid ac Sheáin Bhuidhe, about the year 1687, had called on the ople to pray " that James be granted a male heir to protect d shelter Ireland." [7] When the heir was born, David O ruadair wrote a poem " on the Rejoicings that were through- t Ireland on the 17th day of June after the Birth of the oung Prince " (O B., Pt. III, p. 112). In the last two es of his poem O Bruadair, who seems to have been oppressed

[1] Clarke, II, 619, 621, 636.
[2] *Cf.* Dryden, *The Hind and the Panther*, l. 2215 *sq.* ; Clarke, II, 612.
[3] Clarke, II, 620.
[4] Clarke, II, 363 *sq.*, 504, 361, 621.
[5] Dryden, *Hind and Panther*, 2248–9 ; Clarke, II, 363, 503.
[6] Clarke, II, 636, 637.
[7] In Ó B., Pt. III, poem xiv, 33.

by private sorrow at the time, said : " No cause of joy wou appear to exist near me, if this young prince remove n my trouble from me." O Bruadair was in the habit of writi marginal notes to his poems, either when he wrote them when he re-read or re-copied them in after years. Besi the lines just translated he later wrote *agus níor thóg acht hárdughadh orm do-rinn*, " And he did not remove it, b rather increased it for me." The reference is, of course, the complete ruin of the poet himself and of his patrons th followed the failure of the effort to hold Ireland as a la stronghold for King James.

For James's defeat was more than the defeat of an Engli king on Irish soil : it was the defeat of the ancient Iri nation at the moment when it had attained a long-deferr unity around a just, beloved, and universally accepted rule At Aughrim, as poets from the north and south join testifying, the old Gaelic way of living was fought for an lost. There, as a northern poet of the day puts it, the Iri army fought to preserve sounds and sights that seem to typif the Ireland of the past : " the Cry of the Church set in Rome wisdom . . . the Cry of poets . . . the Cry of heroes trainin young horses, the Cry of dogs merry for sport . . . the Cr of schools . . . the Cry of ollaves on whom their patro bestowed gold, the Cry of harps, and of bards who chante through the night to their music . . . and the sight of wome in halls making patterns on satin."[1] There, as a souther poet puts it, the Irish were defeated and scattered over th sea ; their lands and towns passed into possession of th English, and " poets were undone." [2]

It is not our intention to discuss here the merits of th policies put forward by the contending Jacobite groups i Ireland. All writers are agreed, however, that James's effor there were vitiated by indecision. Vacillating betwee vigorous action against the rebels and delay in the hope c propitiating them, he gave some grounds for an Irish poet

[1] Summarized from Mac Cuarta's *Tuireadh Shomhairle Mhic Dhomhnaill*, ed. Lloy *Duanaire na Midhe*, 1914, pp. 92–93.
[2] Eóghan Ó Caoimh, in *Gadelica*, p. 109.

omplaint that " with one shoe Irish and the other shoe English e would neither strike a blow nor come to a settlement." [1] ames's flight from the Boyne, too, puzzled the Irish, though olonel O'Kelly with reason says : " The courage and valour f King James, whereof he gave a thousand demonstrations y sea and land, made the world conclude that this flight was ot altogether occasioned by an act of pusillanimity, but proeeded rather from a wrong maxim of state."[2] O'Kelly vhen he wrote those lines had in mind those military actions vhich led the Marshal de Turenne to say : " If ever any nan was entirely void of fear it was the Duke of York," [3] nd the naval action against the Dutch off Southwold Bay, nown to some of the Irish by the lament for Cormac son of Donnchadh MacCarthy, who was killed there,

i loing an Diúic, is a shúil dá fhéachain,
is é i dtroid re hOpdam Pleimionn.[4]

Though men of Colonel O'Kelly's standing among the xtremists acquitted James of the charge of cowardice, and hough O Bruadair, in his *Shipwreck*, written more than a ear after the battle of the Boyne, speaks of James with the ame affectionate gratitude which characterises his earlier oems, the common people judged James harshly as regards ourage. They popularised a Rabelaisian nickname for him vhich Dr. Dinneen has rightly translated in his dictionary s " James the Coward." The nickname Séamas an Chaca, ecause it is short, amusing, and obscene, has outlived the lecay of Irish. While the Irish language still flourished and he poems of David O Bruadair and his contemporaries were till read, that phrase cannot have assumed the importance vhich it does to-day. The exiled ruler could then live in he minds of Irish poets as Rí Séamas, the King who was to eturn and exact vengeance from the tyrants,[5] as the lost

[1] Verse quoted by Dr. Hyde in *Abhrain . . an Reachtabhraigh*, 1933, p. 59, note 8 Reference given me by my colleague Dr. S. Ó Searcaigh).
[2] Charles O'Kelly, *The Jacobite War in Ireland*. Ed. by Count Plunkett and the ev. E. Hogan, S.J., 3rd ed., 1894, p. 21.
[3] Clarke, II, 610.
[4] On board the Duke's ship, while the Duke's eye looked at him, and he in action with pdam the Hollander (S. H. O'Grady *Catalogue*, 564–566). *Cf.* also O B., Pt. III, iii, § 6.
[5] Eóghan Ó Caoimh, in *Gadelica*, p. 109.

leader of the soldiers of Ireland, "who wandered weeping separated from James,"[1] or as the saintly prince who won heaven by his devotion to the Roman Faith,[2] though occasionally even in poetry the disappointment felt about the flight from the Boyne makes itself heard as in Seán Clárach's affectionate comparison of James to a timid deer who frightened by wolves "refused battle without courage," or in the South Ulster *le áthrughadh ceannphoirt throidfeamuis aris iad.*[3]

The love that was accorded to James was transferred after his death to his son,[4] and in a more special way to his son's son, Charles Edward. To him more poems were written by poets living in both the north and south of Gaelic Ireland than were written to any other Stuart.[5] Charles Edward's friends and counsellors were Irish, and if the Wild Geese had succeeded in their dream of placing him on the throne, there is little doubt but that he would have ruled with a heart more Irish than English over that kingdom which his grandfather, while retaining an English heart,[6] admitted to be the most loyal of his three kingdoms.[7]

GERARD MURPHY

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[1] *Duanaire na Midhe*, ed. J. H. Lloyd, Lament for Sarsfield, p. 38.

[2] Seán Ó Neachtain's lament for Mary d'Este, James's Queen, in J. Hardiman's *Ir. Minstrelsy*, II, p. 18.

[3] J. H. Lloyd, *Duan. na Midhe*, p. 39. J. Hardiman, *Ir. Minstrelsy*, II, p. 123, with what authority I do not know, attributes an English version of this saying to Sir Teigue O'Regan: "Let us change commanders and we will fight the battle over again." The Williamite historian G. Story, I believe, attributes another English version of it to Sarsfield. It, and certain South Ulster stories ridiculing James (referred to by H. Morris in the notes to *Céad de Cheoltaibh Uladh*, p. 178), probably came into Ulster Gaelic tradition from a Protestant source, as the picture of Sir Phelim O'Neill as slayer of babies almost certainly did (*Cf.* É. Ó Tuathail, *Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh*, p. 194).

Aodh De Blácam believes that James's nickname is to be explained in the same manner (see his discussion of Protestant Gaeldom, STUDIES, 1934, p. 445). But the nickname seems to have been very widely spread in Ireland (*Cf.* S. H. O'GRADY *Catalogue* p. 518, footnote; *Irish Fairy Tales . . . illustr. by* G. STRAHAN, London, 1902, p. 65; *Abhráin . . . an Reachtabhraigh*, ed. D. Hyde, 1933, p. 146).

[4] *Cf.* J. Hardiman's *Ir Minstrelsy*, II, p. 11; O'Rahilly's *Gile na Gile; Gael. Jnl.*, XIV, 668; J. O Daly, *Po. & Po.*, 2nd ed., 62, 206; Seán Clarach, ed. Ó Foghludha, *passim*; and many other poems.

[5] *E.g.*, Uster: *Tá bearad i Londain*, by P. Ó Doirnín, in *Rainn 7 Amhráin, ed.* É. Ó Tuathail, poem xviii; A *Shéarlais Óig*, anon., in *Foghraidheacht Ghaedhilge an Tuaiscirt*, by Dr. S. Ó SEARCAIGH, p. 170; unpublished poem in MS. catalogued by Dr. D. Hyde in *Gaelic Jnl.*, XIV, pp. 667, 668.

Munster Seán Clárach Mac Domhnaill's poetry *passim;* Aisling poetry *passim*; J. Hardiman's *Ir. Minstrelsy*, II, pp. 25–145, etc.

[6] Clarke, II, 636, 637.

[7] Clarke, II, 391, 636; G. STORY, *An Impartial Hist.*, p. 88.

# NEW CLASSES IN THE CLASSLESS STATE

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AT the outset it may be well to remark that the discriminating critic of Bolshevik institutions is at a disadvantage. When he points out discrepancy, no matter how great, between profession and performance, he is met with the distinction between the present position and the final goal. It is explained that the present phase, which is generally known as that of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, is only a stage, a necessary stage, on the road to full or Integral Communism. When at last this is realised, there will be no classes and no dictatorship; the State itself, which is but the instrument by which a particular class expresses and secures its domination, will have become unnecessary and will gradually " wither away " ; a standing army and a centralised police force will have become superfluous, for these are but the instruments of class dictatorship; the distinction between their functions and that of the ordinary citizen will have vanished. Society will be constituted by voluntary associations for economic purposes. Full equality will prevail; and each will receive according to his needs.

All this may be very beautiful as a goal; but there is overwhelming evidence to prove that the present Soviet Government, instead of advancing towards this goal, is moving in another direction. True, it is always ready to justify any seeming inconsistency of action by reference to Marx and Lenin; and as Lenin repeatedly asserted that his philosophy—dubbed by him the only true Marxism—was subject to modification in the light of revolutionary experience, he can be a very accommodating authority. If the Devil can always quote Scripture, the Bolshevik can always quote Lenin.

Lenin himself as Dictator gave early proof of the elasticity of his principles. Confronted with starving towns and

a countryside in revolt, he determined to beat a retreat. His purpose may have been in the main strategic—a *reculer pour mieux sauter*. At any rate, the outcome was the famous New Economic Policy (N.E.P.), which made susbtantial concessions to the property-owning " prejudices " of the peasant, and allowed considerable scope to private enterprise in trade and industry. Once more townsmen and peasants were in a position to buy and sell with some prospect of reasonable profit. During the years following the establishment of N.E.P. the position of the peasant on the whole approached more closely to that of the small farmer proprietor of western Europe. This was also a period of rapid recovery in the economic life of a nation which anarchy and war, combined with the efforts to administer a large dose of Communism, had practically driven over the edge of complete destruction.

Lenin's belief was that this phase, even if it were but a phase of transition, would last a long time—that in fact Integral Communism and the complete destruction of bourgeois economy were as yet far off. But those who inherited his mantle and claimed to have inherited his policy were quickly convinced that it was unnecessary and impolitic to tolerate any such delay. They felt that to allow private enterprise once more to strike its roots both in town and country would prove fatal to the whole socialistic character and purpose of the revolution. Therefore it had to be immediately and ruthlessly checked. The N.E.P. had given the nation, economically and politically, a breathing space that was necessary for continued life, and the recovery made in these few years was sufficient to enable the advance to socialism to be resumed once more and on a grand scale.

But more was involved than the mere excision of N.E.P., something more than a mere joining again of all the threads that had been severed by the interposition of N.E.P. Since the initial anarchy of the revolution the governmental machine, now under the complete control of the Party, had been made immeasurably more efficient. There were no signs of that gradual " withering away " of the State which was to have been a feature of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The develop-

it was entirely in the opposite direction, and the most potic State apparatus in modern times was being quickly steadily elaborated. These features were all the more eworthy in that the internal and external dangers with ch the State was confronted were rapidly disappearing. advance now made implied the jettisoning of some of the ls of Integral Communism. Liberty—political, economic, personal—was dead, and there was no indication that any rrection was possible without the intervention of a violent olution. The ordinary workman or peasant was left hout power to influence the policy of " his " State. The alled ownership of industries by the worker was as illusory is control over the State. In fact, in so far as it is possible hin the framework of complete State ownership and control ll the means of production, there has been a steady effort return to the principles and practices of Capitalistic nagement.

In some respects this phase of Soviet history is more in e with modern political and economic evolution than were ne of the ideals and forces that operated during the first iod of the Revolution, but which are now practically super-ed or scrapped. In its efforts to overtake and pass the at industrialised countries of the world, the U.S.S.R. has ven to adopt what can only be described as the methods these countries. What we have, therefore, is the deliberate ndonment of some sides of the communistic programme l the intensification of others.

The possibility of bourgeois reaction in the town and ntry has been effectively guarded against by the liquidation the " Nepman " in the town and of the peasant proprietor the country. With this liquidation the suppression of those sses that existed prior to the revolution has been completed ; ividual ownership of the means of production, apart from ne small concessions to the peasant mentality, has been ed out.

The banner of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat still ves ; but it is now fully apparent that such implications democracy and freedom as were involved, at least for the

workers, in the setting up of the original Soviet Constit tion have vanished. It can be urged that these things nev existed; yet in the earlier years there was more eviden of mass energy and initiative—something that seemed less conflict with the ultimate communistic ideal. It may be tha in the first phase, the closer approach in practice to th Communism gave ample proof of its impracticability, that fact mass initiative and even enthusiasm proved in the lon run more suited to the work of destruction than to the mo onerous tasks of building up. For this latter more effectiv management and leadership, more specialised knowledge an experience were obviously required. If these are essenti requisites for industrial undertakings in ordinary countrie how much more are they necessary in the U.S.S.R., where a all-embracing planned economy has to swallow up all else.

Kaganovitch, speaking at the Congress of the Party i 1934, acknowledges the increase in control, which he glosse over with the usual propagandist euphemisms: "Undoubtedl our State apparatus has improved lately; the organs of th Proletarian Dictatorship have become stronger. The genera economic developments and the growth of the political con sciousness of the broad masses of the workers and peasant could not but affect our State apparatus."[1] Stalin, speakin in January of 1933, finds it necessary to provide some justifica tion for this development of an apparently anti-communisti character. "A strong and powerful Dictatorship of th Proletariat—that is what we must have now in order to shatte the last remnants of the dying classes and to frustrate thei thieving designs. Certain comrades interpreted the thesis o the abolition of classes, the establishment of classless society and the dying out of the State to mean justification of lazines and complacency, justification of the counter-revolutionar theory of the subsiding of the class struggle and the weakenin of the state authority . . . The abolition of class is no achieved by subduing the class struggle, but by intensifying it The State will die, but not by the weakening of State authorit

[1] *Socialism Victorious*, p. 179. This and other reports to the Congress are reproduce in this volume.

by strengthening it to the utmost necessary for the purpose finally crushing the remnants of the dying classes and for anising defence against the capitalist environment, which ar from destroyed as yet and will not soon be destroyed."[1] But to the ordinary mind not versed in the dialectic it must pear that the intensification of State power has proceeded ersely as the necessity for it. The hold of the Party over masses and of the Party leaders over the Party has been nstantly increasing. And with the consolidation of the tem criticism from within the Party ranks has been forthming in a rapidly diminishing degree—the failure of all lier attempts at a real criticism is not calculated to stimulate ople to imitation. Thus there is the clear emergence of a finite class distinction between the real rulers and the bject masses, and this political class division is indicated many distinguishing marks.

For these political classes the masses have become so uch productive material. Making due allowance for the fference in time and conditions, some striking parallels may drawn between Peter the Great and Stalin—the comparison tween these two despotic rulers of Russia has indeed become most a commonplace. The freedom of movement of the asants was an obstacle to the policy which the Czars determined to force on Russia. The difficulty was overcome by nding the peasant to the soil of the estates. Stalin in his y has had to complain of the " instability of labour," the ntinual migration of the workers, entailing heavy losses to dustry and interfering with the success of planned economy. ne of the evils that has to be overcome is " the drift from ctory to factory," " the large labour turnover "—an illumina-ng phrase ! To combat this evil and to secure more stability rious inducements are held out ; but there is no hesitancy employ repressive measures as well, in order to bind the orkers to their factory. For instance, the so-called " flyers " ere threatened with the loss of their bread ticket. As is usual, l these complaints and threats are interlarded with proclamaons of the great change that has taken place in the lot of the

[1] Stalin : *The Results of the First Five Year Plan*, pp. 57, 58. (Modern Books).

working man, who "is now the master of his fate." Bu perhaps one of the causes of the success of the Soviet Goverr ment is its determination not to look facts in the face or to ca things by their proper names.

For Stalin the supreme question at present is industria efficiency. The life and happiness of millions count little i the scale against the efforts necessary to overtake and pas capitalist countries. It is only as part of the propagandis apparatus that some of the old ideals enjoy a lingering exis tence. But was this not ever so, and is the change from Leni to Stalin anything more than a change of emphasis ? For Leni was also keen on industrialisation. The change in emphasis however, is important and is well illustrated by the centra position given to the Five Year Plans.

Stalin and his collaborators have all the appearance o Managing Directors of a gigantic industrial combine. But successfully to carry through this programme the nation has to be carefully differentiated. New classes and new cadres have to be called into existence. The great panacea for all evils—there is always such a panacea—is the training up of technicians of various grades to control, manage and help the new factories. Stalin uttered the slogan, and it has been taken up right along the various ranks : "Mechanization and the mastery of technique in all departments ! " Another discovery made or at least announced is the incompatibility of what were regarded by many as essentially communistic ideals with efficiency. One of the points most strongly insisted upon in the speeches is the necessity of getting rid of what they call depersonalisation in management—the very result of the earlier communistic drive!—and the substitution therefor of "real" management. There must be some competent person who can assume responsibility for the working of the concern, the accomplishment of its work ; the shifting of responsibility from one set of workers to another must cease.

In this demand for personal responsibility and initiative in management we may question whether Stalin is not seeking two things which cannot in practice be combined : the iron control essential to his general system, political and economic,

d the demand for initiative that can only come with a certain easure of freedom. He seems to have a kind of nostalgia that mass energy and élan which the revolutionaries experienced in their first fervour, whilst at the same time he has ken every measure to crush it out of existence. But it is vious that it is no longer on the enthusiasm of the masses—ough the enthusiasm of the youthful sector is still of imrtance—that reliance is placed, but on their subjection to rigid discipline under the control of chosen individuals.

That these controlling individuals are thrown up by the asses is quite irrelevant. It is merely the "*carrière ouverte ux talents*" of bourgeois politics. The ease with which people ay leave the ranks does not make easier the lot of those who e to remain behind. Those that do remain behind are more an ever the mere hewers of wood whose rôle is to carry out ders. This may be unavoidable, but the fact remains that bsequent to the early stages of the revolution the advance as not been in the direction of Integral Communism. True, ne bourgeois owner of the factory, the directors of the company nd their managers are all gone; but their place has been ken not by the workers but by the expert and the repreentative of the Party.

In his address to the 16th Congress of the Party in the une of 1930 Stalin mentions one-man management "as one the problems that industry has to solve," and then proceeds: Intolerable also are becoming the breaches of our policy to pply one-man management in the factories. The workers gain and again complain: 'There is no master in the works,' there is no system in the works.' We can no longer tolerate ur factories being transformed from productive organisms to parliaments. Our Party and Trades Union organisations ust at length understand that, without ensuring one-man anagement and strict responsibility for work done, we annot solve the problems of reconstructing industry."[1] A ear later, in an address on "New Conditions, New Tasks," e insists that "it is necessary that our combines should eplace collegium management by individual management."[2]

[1] Stalin: *Leninism* II, pp. 375, 376. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 444.

How far away we are from the Workers' Committees, from the participation of the workers in the management of the factories ! In various Congresses the same demand is repeated and is taken up by his subordinates.

The increased absorption in the problem of production and the lessons of experience, ever more insistently driven home—that if Capitalist success is to be emulated, such methods of Capitalist Industrialism as are not in open conflict with full State ownership and control must be adopted—bring other consequences in their train. The tendency towards equality noticeable in earlier days before the coming of N.E.P. must not only be checked, it must be decisively reversed. In harmony with this is the discovery that egalitarianism is at the root of the principal troubles with which the Five Year Plans have to contend. And so a new slogan has gone forth from Stalin, " Down with Equality of Wages," which has since reverberated through all the important Party meetings. The whole demand for equality of wages is denounced as radically wrong, as due to petty bourgeois and kulak[1] prejudices, as something completely at variance with the true spirit of Marxism. The " destruction of all differences between skilled and unskilled labour, between heavy work and light work," protests Stalin, has no foundation in Marx or Lenin. Without such differences " the unskilled worker has no inducement held out to him to become a skilled worker "—how thoroughly bourgeois ! The " instability of labour, the plague of production," is traceable to the same cause.[2]

The worker is reduced to the level of a mere instrument of production ; but if it is mere instruments that are in question, logic and comonsense compel the recognition of the fact that some instruments are more useful than others. Thus, the specialists in the different branches and the skilled workers are more valuable and consequently more worthy instruments than the ordinary labourer, and must be treated as such. " We cannot, as formerly, throw all the experts,

[1] I have never seen any official delimitation of the term Kulak. It would seem to apply to a Russian farmer in fairly comfortable circumstances, but is wide enough to embrace any farmer who hires help to work his farm.

[2] *Leninism*, II, 429.

gineers and technicians into one heap. If we are to take count of the changed conditions, we must alter our policy id display the maximum care and solicitude for these ecialists, engineers, and technicians, who are definitely rning towards the working classes."[1] Amongst other things, ie implication here is clear that the earlier drive was towards quality, but that now the engines are being reversed.

In accordance with the universal practice, once Stalin ad given the word, the slogan was taken up by the lesser ien of the Party, and many evils were quickly traced to its eglect. So it was that in March 1931 Molotov, Chairman of he Council of the People's Commissars, in an address to the All Union Soviet Congress, finds in the removal of egalitarianism one of the most urgent tasks in Soviet agricultural olicy. The kulaks and their hangers-on are held to be really esponsible for the false principle, and against them and their nachinations payment by result is preached as genuine eninism. " It must be recognised that the Bolshevik conception of collective farming demands that the proceeds of he Collective Farms shall be divided in actual accordance vith the amount and quality of the work performed, and not ccording to the number of persons involved, as promoted by he kulaks and their hangers-on to-day . . . Unless this principle s carried out constantly in actual practice, of course in armony with all other enactments of the Collective Farm Statutes, our policy in the building up of Collective Farms vill be in reality not Bolshevist, but petty bourgeois . . . . We ave witnessed not a few distortions of our wages policy, in vhich wages have been thoroughly levelled up without any roper estimate of the importance and work of certain categories of skilled workers and technicians in our processes of roduction. The essential character of this levelling up idea s thoroughly petty bourgeois, and has nothing to do with the olicy of Leninism. Without a severe struggle against such utterly petty bourgeois tendencies as this, it is perfectly mpossible to secure a Bolshevist tempo of economic advance."[2]

But, in the few years of Revolution, the disease had

[1] *Ibid.*, 443. [2] Molotov : *Success of the Five Year Plan*, p. 77.

apparently taken deep root; for as late as the Party Congress of 1934 Stalin has to utter anew his complaint. Applying the doctrine to the Collective Farms, and especially to the Communes, he lays it down that "Every Leninist knows—that is, if he is a real Leninist—that equality in the sphere of personal requirements is a piece of reactionary petty bourgeois stupidity, worthy of a primitive sect of ascetics, but not of a Socialist society organised on Marxist lines, because we cannot demand that all people should have the same requirements and tastes, that all people shall live their lives in the same way . . . . It is time that it was understood that Marxism is opposed to levelling."[1]

This outlook is also responsible for the manner in which, in the great drive for the setting up of Collective Farms, the authorities frown on the Commune and hold up the Artel as the key of the whole system. In the first enthusiasm some efforts in country districts were made to put the full Communist programme into effect, and some of the Collective Farms that were set up took the form of Communes. In these there was a full socialisation of all the possessions of the members, an equal share of profits, and life not in separate houses but in Communist barracks. But these early products of early enthusiasm were not an economic success, and so they did not receive the approval of the reformed mind of the Party. Hence, in the famous "Dizzy with Success" article Stalin insists that "the Communes are still isolated phenomena in the collective farming movement. The conditions are not yet ripe for the agricultural Communes as a *predominant* form in which not only all production, but distribution also, is socialised."[2] The Artel, on the other hand, is officially declared to be the key to the whole collective movement. In the Artel "small household gardens (vegetable, fruit), living premises, a certain number of milch cows, small livestock, domestic poultry, and similar are *not collectivised*."[3] Yakovlew, the People's Commissar of Agriculture, puts the position as follows: "The Artel is the

[1] *Socialism Victorious*, pp. 68, 69. [2] *Leninism*, II, p. 283.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 284. A circular letter of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. condemns "the blockhead attempts to jump over from the Artel to the Commune."

ndamental form in our present state of collective farming velopment, because in it the basic means of production e socialised . . . . The income of the Artel is divided in the in according to the labour performed by the members of e Artel and their families."

The margin of private property thus allowed to the indi-dual members of a Collective Farm has varied from time to ne, as tactical considerations and economic necessity have ctated; recently considerable concessions have been made this respect. But it would be unwise to assume that these ncessions represent any radical and lasting change on the inciple of private property in the means of production. is not yet possible to decide what weight we are to attach such phrases as "at present," "not yet ripe," "pre-ominant," and so on, which continually recur in the various eeches. Are they to be taken at their full face value, as eralding a reversal in this matter at the first suitable pportunity, or should we regard them merely as a polite beisance to the passing of the spirit of integral Communism?

Inequalities, therefore, must prevail throughout the whole ndustrial life of the Soviet people. This is the official policy, nd from the accounts of various travellers in the Soviet nion it is evident that, as a result of this policy, new classes re in the course of formation. The population is being istinguished into clearly marked strata. Rewards for work ary very considerably, both in kind and in amount. There much talk and there is some evidence of what is called ne "Bolshevik tempo" in the work of production; but it becoming more evident that for steady progress and for ltimate success increasing reliance is being placed on the fficacy of improved organisation and on what some years go would have been denounced as the appeal to bourgeois notives.

It is plain that Stalin's orders on the differentiation of ages are being carried out. How far may be judged from n interview which M. Dominique had with an engineer: 'There are women who have fifty roubles per month, say

[1] *Red Villages*, pp. 93, 94.

150 francs. You have three thousand, say nine thousar francs. Thus the salaries range from one thousand eigh hundred to one hundred and eight thousand francs.' 'Sixt times the lowest salary, just as with yourselves in France.' '

Great divergences of comfort prevail. Too often, for th workers in town and country, the standard of living is ex ceedingly low, whilst ease, though not luxury, is the lot o others. There are, according to M. Dominique—his testimon is borne out by other objective observers—" two categories the privileged members of the Soviets—officers, soldiers policemen, bureaucrats, journalists, professors and instructors doctors, foremen, specialist workers—and the rest."[2]

But it is not wages alone that distinguish the newly formed upper classes from the common herd. There are in addition advantages and perquisites of all kinds—some attaching t official position, others intended to act as stimuli to promot greater production. For instance, superior apartments, th use of motor cars, better quality food in restaurants specially reserved, more comfortable accommodation in the trains ar among the things that count. Nor can we neglect the increased marks of respect paid by the ordinary citizen to those mor privileged beings. The invention of " orders " and decoration to honour those who have given special service in differen spheres is a natural sequence of the change of outlook.

The Government has sponsored an immense housing pro gramme, but owing to the faulty and impermanent characte of the work execution lags considerably behind conception Even in the "model" Communist cities, like Magnetegorsk a vast constructive achievement jostles very primitive living conditions. Good provision, however, is made for the specialis —particularly if he be of European or American origin. I housing conditions, as in wages, there is a kind of hierarchica order. And in eating places we often find the same hierarchy ranging from those reserved for the principal managers and outstanding foreign specialists down through the variou grades to the crowded canteens of the ordinary worker, with his poor and unplentiful supply of food. The ordinary worke

[1] *Sibérie Rouge*, p. 241. [2] *Ibid.*, 247.

his turn can look down on the lot of the practically conripted ex-kulak and of the tens of thousands condemned to rced labour.

Some idea of the conditions of the worker may be gathered om the passage in Molotov's address to the Congress of the arty in 1934, in which he indicates as the second of the three ndamental tasks of the Second Five Year Plan: "To crease the level of consumption of the toilers to two or three mes."[1] The resolutions of the same Congress include a proosal "to increase to two and a half times the standard of nsumption of products like meats, fats, fish, eggs, sugar, anufactured goods."[2] Even if this programme be fulfilled, ne condition of the toilers will not have reached the standard f the employed worker in England or the United States.

A considerable distance has been covered since the days hen Lenin denounced the aristocracy of labour. All the vidence points to the conclusion that not only has the classss state not arrived, but that the faces of the present rulers f the U.S.S.R. are determinedly set in the opposite direction. he older classes, based on birth and accumulated capital, ave been fully liquidated. The new classes that are in course f creation are not based on wealth. Rather it is the converse hat is true. Wealth and many amenities follow from the nembership of a class, instead of forming its foundation. But the new classes will be marked by those very things which n bourgeois lands are held in esteem and which wealth can uy—power, respect, influence, prestige, privileges of various inds. It is a mistake to suggest that, in previous European istory, wealth was the sole foundation of class distinction. t is not for the first time that history has witnessed the creaion of a new aristocracy of service, nor is it for the first time n the history of Russia. It would, however, be unsafe to onclude that the development which lies before these classes vill in any way repeat what happened in previous instances. he new classes that are being formed are purely a product f the State. They have no existence apart from the State, nd with the State controlling all means of production, it is

[1] *Socialism Victorious*, p. 367. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 665.

not easy to see how they can achieve a certain measure o independence. Property, real or personal, would seem t be a requisite for any such development.

This class creation in the U.S.S.R. does not presage an weakening of what the ordinary man understands as Socialism or any loosening of the ruthless control which the State exercise over the individual or over the process of production ; in thi respect there are not even the beginnings of a reversal of policy The creation of the new classes implies no more concessio to individual liberty than the recognition of ranks within th army. The hive, but with more articulation of function tha is to be found among the bees, with the various types of wor definitely marked off and graded according to importance, i still the ideal. Apart from his function in the State machinery the individual—high or low—still remains something devoi of value. The very development that we are now considerin stands for the greater exaltation and strength of the State a the expense of individual rights. All are still, to a greate extent perhaps than before, state functionaries—cogs, axles or wheels in the giant machine. We are face to face, not wit the end of State Socialism, but with an attempt to consolidat it more firmly. There has been built up a structure tha seems to have more elements of permanency than any of it predecessors since 1917. This has been achieved by th deliberate jettisoning of some portions of the Communis programme in order to save the rest. Dictatorship is makin itself less vulnerable to attack.

The new class organisation of the State is essentiall bureaucratic. The question must arise whether in the lon run the stifling of initiative and liberty—that curse of al bureaucracies—may not prove equally fatal to progress an permanency. Now, more decidedly than even in Lenin's day the active forces, the only forces in the State that are allowe to be active, are arrayed not for but against that " witherin away " of the State which was to be a feature of the Proletaria Dictatorship and a forerunner of the Communist Millennium

J. M. O'Sullivan

# JESUITS IN THE PAGAN WORLD*

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

N the history of Jesuit missions in pagan lands there would seem to be much to arrest the attention and pture the imagination even of those who are out of sympathy th the religious aims and ideals of the missionaries. Witness e numerous books, dealing with certain phases and episodes the Jesuit missions, that have been published by non-tholic writers. These have recounted, not without a certain miration and even enthusiasm, such phases and episodes the career of St. Francis Xavier, the Reductions of Paraguay, e terrible Indian missions of Canada, the doings of the suits at the Courts of the Mogul and the Abyssinian mperors, and their missionary journeys into unknown and rilous lands. It might be of interest to recall here, by ay of samples, the titles of some books of this kind; but ey will be known to most of my readers. One book, which the moment has a certain actuality, may be mentioned: *e Romance of the Portuguese in Abyssinia* by C. F. Rey Witherby, 1929). Of the Jesuit missionary, Father Peter ez, Mr. Rey writes: "He was a wonderful character; deed it would not be an exaggeration to describe him as a ally great man."

Remarkable, however, as are these tributes from those t of their Faith to Jesuit missionary labours, much that of equal interest remains, I venture to think, all but unknown the general public in English-speaking countries. It has ard little, for instance, of Anchieta, the apostle of Brazil, Valdivia in Peru, of Valignani in China and Japan, of obert de Nobili and John de Britto and their strange careers India. Almost unknown to the public are those three nderful missionaries who succeeded one another at the urt of the Emperor of China—Matteo Ricci, the Italian,

* *Cent Ans de Missions*, 1815–1934. *Les Jésuites Missionnaires.* Par Alexandre ou, S.J. (Editions Spes. 1935. 50 fr.)

Adam Schall von Bell, the German, Verbiest, the Belgia
The English-speaking world has yet to be told in a mann
worthy of the theme the curious history of the early Jesui
in Abyssinia (outlined in a previous issue of STUDIES [1]), th
story of the martyr-church of Japan in the seventeent
century, the labours of Father Kino in Mexico and California
and those of the learned Father Tieffenthaler in India. Pet
Claver, thanks largely to Arnold Lunn, is coming into his ow
and the almost incredible story of the Jesuit travellers i
central Asia has been made available to readers of English
this time, however, by one of their brethren, Fath
Wessels, S.J.[3] But many a no less wonderful story of trav
and adventure amid the mountains and forests of Sout
America remains yet untold.

All that I have hitherto said relates exclusively to wha
for brevity's sake, we may call the Old Society—*i.e.*, to tha
period of the history of the Society of Jesus which runs fro
its beginnings in 1534 to its suppression in 1773. But wha
of the New Society from its re-establishment in 1814 to th
present day? What of the hundred and more years (182
to 1935) of its missionary effort? This year there appeare
a book which supplies an answer—*Cent Ans de Missions* b
Father Alexandre Brou, S.J. Without attempting com
parisons which, if not odious, would be idle and misleading
let us consider certain aspects of the story therein related.

When, in the course of the nineteenth century, the Jesu
missionary returned to the scene where his brethren ha
laboured, he did not merely resume where those forme
labourers had left off. Fifty, sixty, seventy or more yea
had gone by: the last of the old Jesuits had gone to the
reward; and the fields where they had toiled had for th
most part undergone changes of many kinds. In most
these fields ruin and desolation had come upon their wor
Left without pastors the half-reclaimed savage returned t

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[1] September, 1935: Abyssinia and its Jesuit Missionaries, by Father Herbe
Thurston, S.J.

[2] A Life of Father Kino by Rufus Jay Wyllys has just appeared at Dallas, Texas.

[3] *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, 1603–1721. (The Hague: Martinus Nijho
1924.)

forests or faded into the wilderness before the oncoming ite man.

In the first place the Europe of 1814, in which the Jesuits gan the slow and difficult work of re-establishing their der was a very different place from the Europe of 1773. e Revolution had passed over it, leaving a ferment in n's minds with which statesmen were powerless to cope. e Napoleonic wars had swept across it, spreading the new eas, changing and rechanging frontiers, regrouping peoples, rring half-dormant nationalities into fresh activity. And the century wore on, the pace of change—intellectual, onomic, social—became ever more rapid.

Years had to pass before the Jesuits, painfully adjusting emselves to these new conditions, could turn their attention the far-off heathen. In fact nine years—a brief period rely in view of all the circumstances—passed before the st Jesuit missionaries left Europe for North America, here (in Florida) as far back as 1566 nine Jesuits had laid own their lives and where (in Canada) they had laboured om 1611 to 1773 for the conversion of the Indians. But it as a new America—instead of scattered English settlements, e United States; instead of New France and Acadie, the ritish Colonies of Canada. And where was the Red Man? the East at all events his power was broken—Iroquois nd Abenaki, Mohican and Algonquin had gone the way of e Huron and the Montagnais. Leaving but a sorry remnant ehind, they had departed along Western trails. Later the lack Robe was to follow them to the prairies of Dakota and e wilderness of the Rocky Mountains.

And so it was elsewhere. In 1836 the Jesuit missionaries turned to an India in which Portuguese and Dutch and rench had ceased to count and where the power of Britain as solidly established. No doubt China, to which they turned in 1842, and Japan were little changed, but momen- ous changes were to come, and indeed it was not till 1908, hen these changes had already come to pass, that they at st gained an entrace to Japan.

The Jesuits returned to Latin America, where from Tierra

del Fuego to the Rio Grande they had laboured in the caus of religion and civilisation, to find instead of Spain a welte of struggling and turbulent republics in which revolutio anticlerical and anti-Christian, was endemic. The Reductio of Paraguay were ruined past repair and the Indian ha returned to the wild.

And so when the Jesuits began again, they had almo to begin *ab ovo*. In 1773 there were 3,000 Jesuits at wor in the pagan missions; in 1823, or at all events in 1834, is safe to say that hardly one of them survived. It is tru that in certain missions bands of other missionaries no le devoted had taken their place and carried on their work But too often the supply of missionaries was inadequate t the task: the other missionary orders were few and hard pu to it to maintain their own missions in those disastrou times. And so the fields lay fallow. The Jesuits returned t Madura and to the Argentine in 1836, to Louisiana in 183 to Kiang-nan in China in 1840, to Canada in 1842, to Colombi in 1844, to the Philippines in 1859, and so, every few year until the present day, they have entered some new field o labour. Certain of these fields were new to them in a fulle sense, as never having been evangelised by their predecessors Thus Jamaica (1837) the Rocky Mountains (1840), Algeri (1848), British Guiana (1855), Madagascar (1844 and agai 1860), and later South Africa, the Zambesi, Alaska, the Congo Australia, Irak, the Dutch East Indies, to mention only th more important.

In 1903, some 250 years after the slaughter of so many Jesuits and the utter destruction of their Huron missions by the Iroquois, the remnant of those once terrible savages, now Christians, were given back to the charge of the Society Caughnawaga, Wikwemikong, Michilimackinac, and the islands of the Great Lakes have their Black Robes back again, and a few years ago a young Iroquois was received into the Society and is now no doubt a priest. Similar consolations awaited them elsewhere. Their one time neophytes had remained faithful despite abandonment and neglect. Some of them had died for the Faith as in China in 1805. In 1865 there

·e discovered in Japan some 50,000 Catholics who, though ɔgether deprived of priests and Sacraments (except Baptism), l inherited the Faith from the converts of the seventeenth .tury Jesuits and still maintained it.

The world in which the Jesuits of the New Society com- nced their labours was in certain respects more favourable missionary effort, in others perhaps less propitious. Ever ɔroving means of transport and communication brought missions nearer to Europe and diminished their isolation. rious other modern inventions contributed to render the ssionary's lot more endurable, aided him to acclimatize nself, and reduced mortality. The progress of colonization s, if benefit at all, a very mixed benefit. For if it brought em protection, it was apt to fasten upon them the odium being forerunners and agents of foreign domination. More- er, if Catholic missions gained any support or prestige m a Catholic mother-country or a Catholic colonial govern- nt (as they did in the Congo), Protestant missions certainly ɔfited still more by the backing of Protestant colonial powers ch as England, Holland, Germany, and the United States.

I have mentioned Protestant missions and in doing so ached upon one of the main problems to be faced by the w Society in common with other Catholic missionaries. e missionary of the Old Society came among the heathen aring what he knew to be the authentic message of the spel without fear that any other professing Christian uld gainsay that message or offer an alternative. Here d there the Protestant pastor of some Dutch or English tlement had made attempts to convert the surrounding tives. But it was not till the nineteenth century that ssionaries began to go forth from Europe expressly to nvert pagan lands to a Protestantism of some particular riety. During the last one hundred years these missions ve grown in extent, resources, and personnel, and though e results are hardly commensurate with the vast effort t forth, they nevertheless constitute a formidable rivalry nich hinders Catholic development and in any case presents the heathen the spectacle of a divided Christianity.

Happily, as a compensation for this new obstacle, there has been all through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a wonderful growth of new religious congregations devoted to the missions. The Jesuits were never at any period alone in the mission field. Other missionary Orders had preceded them and had all along worked side by side with them. But in modern times the Society is, thank God, only one amid a host of missionary bodies—Missions Etrangères, Picpus, Salesians, the Consolata, Mill Hill, Holy Ghost Fathers, African Missions of Lyons, Oblates, Marists, Society of the Divine Word, White Fathers, Maryknoll, Maynooth Mission, and many more besides. New Orders of Brothers have gone out to man the schools. But above all there is the coming of the nuns into the mission field in their hundreds and eventually in their thousands, lightening the missionary's labours, winning the gratitude, affection, and admiration of the native races, tending the sick, harbouring the orphan, teaching the children. Finally the laity, in the twentieth century, has begun to take a new and hitherto unheard of interest in the Missions and to aid them as never before.

Are we to conclude that the task of the missionary in the New Society has been a simple and an easy one—all plain sailing, as the phrase goes ? A partial answer to that question is provided by a list given by our author (p. 306), in which are named thirty Jesuit martyrs who laid down their lives in various foreign missions between 1847 and 1930. But there is such a thing as a living martyrdom worse than death, and as such might well be described the lives of the labourers in certain missions during the period under review. Take the mission of the island of Fernando Po in the gulf of Guinea —a climate of unbearable heat and of yellow fever, a white man's grave, a population of dwarfish negroes tattooed and smeared with clay and oil, speaking some five different dialects, detesting the stranger. Seven years of toil yielded only 500 baptisms, of which but 150 were adults and these mostly negroes from Cuba. The missionaries died one after the other, all within a brief space of time, till at last a merciful

olution in Spain caused the survivors to be expelled from colony.

Or take this other picture, the mission of the Napo, a utary of the Upper Amazon. The Jesuits went there in 7 at the request of Garcia Moreno, the great President Ecuador. They undertook the civilization and conversion these savages, immoral, distrustful, capricious, unstable, such limited mental powers that it took weeks to teach m the sign of the Cross, who could be taught only by ging and could be kept quiet in church only by having nusical box on the altar. After fifteen days journey over Andes the missionaries reached their mission, with its mid and stifling climate, clouds of mosquitoes, dense ests full of wild beasts and snakes, insufficient food, and ad-hunting savages. To make matters worse there were ite traders and adventurers. Nearly ten years the Fathers led, making 10,000 converts, only to be driven out by anticlerical government and to see their Indians return the forest.

Then there was the twenty years mission of the French suits to the convicts of Cayenne; the difficult missions the English Jesuits in British Guiana, Honduras, and Zambesi; the mission of the American Jesuits along frozen rivers of Alaska; that of the Belgians in the aming forests of the Congo. Indeed there are few missions which the European missionary, living as nearly as possible native's life, has not many hardships to suffer.

But it is not in hardship and suffering or even in martyrdom at the Jesuits, any more than other missionaries, find the l obstacles to their apostolate. For these we must look ewhere. Each mission has its peculiar difficulties, but many of them Europe has been the source of their greatest als. Father Campbell in his history of the Jesuits describes nineteenth century as a century of disaster. Persecution d exile has been the lot of the Society in many of the home ntries and even in some of the missions themselves. These rsecutions sometimes indeed resulted in an immediate gain the mission personnel. Thus Protestant persecution in

Holland and Belgium in 1818 sent a first band of missionaries to Missouri. The Argentine owed the return of the Jesuits in 1835 to revolution in Spain. Expelled from Piedmont (1851) the Jesuits departed to work in California. Exiled from Naples (1867) they set out for New Mexico. Their expulsion from Switzerland in 1847 gave priests to the German emigrants in the United States. The German Kulturkampf scattered German Jesuits in many lands. The expulsions from France in 1880 reinforced the missions in Syria and the Zambesi, while those from Portugal in 1910 rendered a like service to Brazil and Kwang-Tung. And so it went on.

Nevertheless revolution and anticlerical persecution in the home country could not but affect the missions adversely in the long run. When it suited the home governments to favour the missions, all went well. But they did not always choose to show them favour. France sent out to Madagascar an anticlerical M. Augagneur to ruin everything as far as he could.[1] The Dutch Government long hampered the apostolate by confining the Catholic missions to certain limited districts. In the South American republics the "liberals" regularly expelled the Jesuits and the "conservatives" recalled them. American government in the Philippines has meant godless schools and swarms of Protestant missionaries.

But perhaps it is time to turn from this survey of hardships and difficulties to a consideration of successes and results. Far more might be said under this heading than can be brought within the compass of an article. One of the finest of Jesuit missions is undoubtedly that of Kiang-Nan, in China, a district half the size of France, with fifty-four million inhabitants. Here the French Jesuits of the New Society began their work in 1840, with a nucleus of some 40,000 Christians. The mission was to undergo almost incredible trials—first floods, then famine, then rebellions and civil wars, then the Taiping and the Tchang-mao and the Nien-fei. Finally, in 1898, came the terrible rebellion of the Boxers. Five missionaries lost their lives, 5,000 Christians were massacred,

[1] On the whole, however, French governments have held that anticlericalism was not for export.

616 churches and chapels out of 674 were destroyed, 381 schools out of 430. But the Christians had shown the utmost heroism and the missions soon rose from their ruins. There were 45,000 Catholics in Tché-li in 1902, 136,000 in 1928, while Kiang-nan proper had 130,000 Christians in 1902, and 276,487 twenty years later. Naturally this wonderful mission field has had to be divided and sub-divided. It now counts seven territories, with 350,000 Christians among whom are at work not only French but Spanish, Italian, Austrian, Canadian, and Hungarian Jesuits, while two of the territories have been confided entirely to Chinese bishops and priests.

The missions of China have to do with a people of ancient civilization. Let us turn next to a mission among primitive races—the mission of Chota Nagpore, south west of Bengal in India, inhabited by aboriginal peoples, Mundas, Kharias, Ouraons, and Santals. Here the Catholic missionary was not first in the field. The Lutherans had come in 1845, the Anglicans in 1861. Not till 1868 did the first Catholic priest appear. Seventeen years afterwards, in 1885, there were only 3,000 converts. But that year things took a sudden turn. In Père Brou's words, "the new station at Torpa had fifty Christians in November, 300 the following January, 900 in June, 1,160 in August, 2,700 in December . . . 10,000 in May 1885, 35,000 by the end of 1888." What had happened? A wonderful young Belgian Jesuit, Father Constant Lievens, had come to Chota-Nagpore. First he had mastered the four chief languages of the region. Then he had espoused the cause of the down-trodden aborigenes against their Hindoo oppressors. Finally he gave himself to the work with all the wonderful zeal and energy that was in him. In seven years he wore himself out and went home to Belgium to die at the age of 38. But before his death there were 70,000 Christians, and the movement has gone steadily forward till to-day there are 250,000 and the numbers continue to grow.

It would be interesting, did space allow, to sketch the history of the Madagascar missions, where there was scarcely one Catholic in 1860, and where to-day, despite intense Protestant rivalry, there are 340,000. Or again the Kwango

mission in the Belgian Congo, where new methods—th *fermes-chapelles*, were tried with great success till they ha served their purpose. There the first Jesuits arrived only i 1893, yet in 1930 the situation was as follows [1] :—3,11 rural schools, 67 central primary schools, and ten professiona schools—in all 64,253 children. From 2,424 in 1902, th Christian population rose to 20,000 in 1922, and in 193 there were 82,445 baptised Christians and 93,693 catechumens No doubt all these latter have by this time been baptise and an equal number are being prepared for Baptism. I this mission the apostolate of the missionaries has been aide by three very special factors—the friendly co-operation o the Government, the organization by lay Catholics in Belgium of a first rate medical service, and the devoted nuns.

It will be noted that all the conversion movements on a large scale which have hitherto been mentioned—with the partial exception of those in China, have been among people of more or less primitive civilisation and religious beliefs

The fact is that upon the peoples professing what may be called the higher religions—the Musulman, the Hindoo, and the Jew—but little impression has been made. There have been individual conversions—the writer has known personally Turkish, Arabic, and Egyptian Jesuits, some of whom were formerly Mahommedans, and there is a very fervent group of converted Brahmans in India, but the mass remains re fractory to the Gospel. Nevertheless much can and has been done by way of mitigating fanaticism and removing anti christian prejudice. The Jesuit missions in the Near East are remarkable in this respect. Their schools and colleges contain a strange medley of Greeks and Armenians, Copts and Jews, side by side with Christians of every race, rite, and sect—Maronites and Melchites, Jacobites and Chaldeans, all living on good terms with one another and with their masters. The University of Beyrouth has scattered over the Near East doctors, lawyers, and engineers by no means all Catholics, but for the most part friendly and free from fanaticism.

[1] Let it be understood that to the Jesuits has been entrusted only a corner of the Congo Free State. The rest is being evangelized with great success by other missionaries.

It has, in fact, come to be pretty generally recognized at among educated and cultured people only individual nversions are to be looked for, and that the approach to em lies principally through education. That is why the suits have devoted so great a proportion of their members id of their resources to the creation and maintenance of ntres of higher education. I have mentioned the University St. Joseph in Beyrouth, Syria. In Japan, after endless ifficulties and set backs, German Jesuits established the atholic University of Tokio; in China the French Jesuits ave the flourishing University of L'Aurore, near Shanghai, s well as a college of higher studies in Tientsin, while the rish Jesuits in Hong Kong have established for Chinese tudents a University Hostel in close relations with the Jniversity. In India efforts have been put forth on a larger cale, though it must be confessed that they came rather ate in the day. In 1844 the College of Negapatam started vith one professor and one pupil. Next came St. Francis Xavier's in Calcutta (1859), soon followed by St. Francis Xavier's in Bombay. St. Aloysius, Mangalore, was founded n 1878. Others were founded later. At present there are wenty-six high schools for boys and thirty-three for girls, here are seven university colleges. Negapatam was later ransferred to Trichinopoly, where St. Joseph's has to-day ver two thousand pupils; St. Francis Xavier's (Calcutta) after a chequered career has now 1,711, Bombay 2,782, Mangalore 1,400, Palamcottah 1,500, Madura 1,084. Yet, when all is said, Catholics, in the field of higher education, are still in a markedly inferior position as compared with Protestant institutions. But then it is questionable to what extent some of these latter are really Christian at all.

I must perforce pass over several not unimportant aspects of the work of the Jesuits in the foreign mission field—for instance, their scientific work—observatories, explorations, learned publications. But there is one aspect that may not be passed over, namely, their work for the creation of a native clergy. Whatever may be said about the past, it is at present very generally recognized by European missionaries

that their own rôle is transitional. The aim that they must set before them is the creating of a native church capable of dispensing with their help and then betaking themselves to some new field of labour. This is what has already come about in certain parts of India and China which have been wholly confided to Indian or Chinese clergy. Meanwhile the Jesuits have, wherever possible, founded in their missions seminaries for the training of a native clergy. Their Indian missions have important seminaries at Mangalore (founded in 1879) and at Trichinopoly; their Chinese missions at Zi-ka-wei (founded as far back as 1843) and elsewhere. In some cases a pontifical seminary or one intended to train students for a group of dioceses has been entrusted to the Society. Such are the Pontifical Seminary at Kandy in Ceylon and the Regional Seminary conducted by the Irish Jesuits at Hong-Kong. The future of the Church in these countries, as everywhere else, rests with the indigenous clergy.

The facts set forth in the above outline are, it would seem, but little known to what we may call the outside world. At all events there is but little literature on the subject by any but Catholic authors. The Old Society, as we have seen, has had its meed of admiration and praise from those without. The New Society not so. Only one figure seems to have captured in any degree the popular imagination—Father de Smet, greatest of missionaries to the Redskin. Even he is probably forgotten—he died in 1873—but he was a great figure in his day and in 1905 his *Life, Letters, and Travels* were published by two non-Catholics.

Perhaps some day the world at large may hear of Father Constant Lievens, of that grand old missionary to the Indians, Father Cataldo, who died in 1928, at the age of 92, after 62 years in the mission, of Father William Judge in Alaska, of Father William Stanton in the swamps of Honduras, of other devoted missionaries whose lives were unknown to all but their immediate companions. It will matter little to them, whose names are written in the Book of Life, but it will help in the carrying on of their apostolate.

STEPHEN J. BROWN

# EDWARD LAURENCE DOHENY

## 1856—1935

BY GEORGE T. CROWLEY, S.J.

ONE warm night in August last, a sun-browned clerical gentleman entered the small railroad station at Mojave, the western end of the great Mojave desert, and resigned nself to an hour's wait until train time. He cast a casual nce about him, as a traveller will, conscious all the while the surreptitious inspection of the passers-by—Padres were rce in those parts, and milder bonanza days are in swing ain. My eye—for I happened to be the clerical gentleman—anced to light on a face, one not out of the ordinary in these rts, yet a face that showed promise.

"It's a warm evening, Father."

"Yes, but not as hot as Death Valley."

"Were you in Death Valley, Father?"

"Last night," I responded.

My friend, evidently a weather-beaten "desert rat" of dubitable Gaelic extraction, puffed away on his pipe as if had not a care in the world.

"Do you work around here?" I asked, cautiously, for y budget was meagre, and gentlemen of leisure are not frequent in those arid parts.

"Laid off at Taft, last night, Father."

"And you live around here?"

"Yes and no, Father, but I've worked in and out of ojave for well on forty years."

"From the old country?"

"From County Wexford, Father."

"And what are you going to do now?"

"Move on to the next place, I guess, Father, though an d man hasn't got a chance these days, Father."

Meanwhile, another transient had joined our little party. I continued: "Have you worked in the oil fields much?"

"Yes, Father," they both rejoined.

The gentleman number one, began to wax eloquent.

"And the finest man I ever worked for, Father, w Edward Doheny."

This was indeed a surprise, for I naturally thought th Doheny, being a wealthy man, would meet with disfavo among the working classes. But my friend had now warm up to the conversation.

"I was working a claim down here at Mojave, Fathe when Ed. Doheny was shovelling sand for five dollars a da some forty years ago. Nice fellow, Doheny, and as white man as you'd care to meet."

Here his friend chimed in.

"That he is—and working men are always welcome the ranch with the big gates down at Ventura. Come wh you like and stay as long as you care to. It's all yours f a 'thank you, sir.'"

"Yes, and the meals and wages, there's none better added my friend from Ireland, "only when there's no wo common decency prevents one from hanging around more tha a day or so, and the ranch is never shorthanded. We Father, we must be on our way now: there's a freight pullin out in five minutes, and it stops at Lancaster. Goodbye —and he was gone.

And the thought that struck me, as I packed my bag on t the station platform and gazed into the starry firmamen listening all the while to the busy clatter of the wireless, wa this: here were two men of the same origin, starting at th same time in life, two men with apparently equal oppo tunities, and fortune had smiled on the one and had veile her face to the other. Why, I wondered, had the dear Lor given millions to Edward Doheny and nothing but hard wor to Patrick Cleary?

## I

The scene changes. The stage is set for the dark famin days in Ireland. Daniel O'Connell, the great Irish Liberato who combined prayer with politics and a golden tongue wit

e of Ireland, had become the hero of the nation. But by 47 his influence was on the wane—his politics being too oderate and his pace too slow for the Young Ireland Party. to the fortunes of this Party and its bold bid for freedom in 48 it is not my purpose to enter. It contained many illiant men—all ready to sacrifice their lives for Ireland and , in one sense or another, martyrs for the cause they had oused. Some were condemned to death, though this ntence was later commuted to transportation for life; hers, after many perils on land and sea, escaped—and amongst ese were Michael and Patrick Doheny.

Patrick Doheny settled in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, the United States of America. Here in this mid-western wn Edward Laurence Doheny was born of Patrick Doheny d Eleanor Doheny (*née* Quigley) in 1856. Fond du Lac as a border town in those days, when the railway uniting e east and west of America was not even dreamt of. Not week passed in Fond du Lac but some family or other joined e great caravans moving westward to Kansas, Wyoming, ew Mexico and California, where gold had been discovered 1849 and where the subject of this sketch in later years ill make two equally important discoveries.

By the fireside on the long winter nights the young Doheny eard many a story of old Ireland, while the Indians came rowling about the family log cabin there in the north woods own. He must have thrilled to the tales of his father, tales f the brave patriots who fought and suffered for their Faith. nd in his sleep he must have often dreamed of Ireland, of er heroic struggle through the centuries, of his father's native ashel of the Kings, of the '98 and '48 rebellions. No wonder hat he longed to visit the scenes of his dreams. But first merica and duty called, and who is there more dutiful than n Irishman's son?

Those were sad and lean days; for America was torn by Civil War, and much blood was shed in the wake of the onflict. Sons of Ireland were fighting for the South, and ther sons were fighting for the North, and amongst the latter as Thomas Francis Meagher, the '48 leader and associate

of the Dohenys. Here was matter for more dreams in the head of young Doheny. He must have often seen himself riding into battle with Meagher of the Sword. Doheny will have other and more fruitful dreams; but for the moment he has to attend to the drudgery of school-work and equip himself for the realisation of these dreams.

When Edward Doheny graduated from High School in 1872, the reconstruction period after the Civil War was in full swing. The free rich land of the West offered ample opportunities to the adventurous pioneer. "Go west, young man," said Horace Greeley, the great journalist, once to a young man seeking his fortune, and his advice had become a watchword of America. And Doheny was one of those who followed this advice and profited by it. The land of plains and mountains and great rivers was calling, the land that would reward a hundred fold the labour expended on it. The mountains, too, were yielding up their treasures of gold and silver. From out this unknown land a traveller would, now and again, make his appearance in Fond du Lac, receive hospitality in the Doheny home, and repay this hospitality with tales of the new El Dorado. Was it any wonder that young Edward became dissatisfied with his unremunerative job of canvassing subscriptions for the *Irish World* and other Irish-American publications? He had become a man, and at the age of twenty-one stood ready to face the world with as liberal an education as the majority of men were glad to have acquired in those days. He decided to join the first caravan that passed through Fond du Lac on its way to the West.

This travelling in lumbering waggons—in "prairie schooners," as they were called—had its hardships and its romance. Some forty or fifty miles were covered in a day; then the camp-fires were lighted, the evening meals cooked and eaten, and you slept beneath the stars unless it was your turn to keep watch for Indians and wild animals. In those days it was easy enough to provide meat by shooting game along the route. Besides the birds of the air, great herds of buffalo still roamed the American plains, and buffalo steak—so tradition has it—is a delicious dish. Alas! the march of

ization into the West, instead of preserving this noble nal, destroyed him, and I fear that Edward Doheny not be acquitted of all guilt in this matter. Food had to be vided somehow; and besides that, it was important to e acquired the art of quick and accurate gunmanship before reached the lawless land into which he was about to enter. Many long days were spent in the saddle, watching im- ently the monotonous line of huge oxen-drawn waggons hey lumbered over the plains or slowly climbed the moun- s; and many sleepless nights were passed peering into darkness, for the fear of onslaughts from Indians or robbers never absent. However, Doheny at last reached his tination, New Mexico, which was a slice of old Mexico ed to the United States after the Mexican War. It stretched before him, an endless tract of desert and mountain, ere the Indians roamed at will and where men went mad r gold—until they died of drink or lonesomeness or "lead soning." This last form of death was generally adminis- d from a Colt's six-shooter; for the old adage was current re, that dead men tell no tales, and in this country they prove strangely silent. How Doheny managed to come ough the early frontier days unharmed is one thing in life story which it is not easy to explain. He was a choleric n and, if stocky, not tall. In that land of the West, when men argued in anger, formalities were short—and the equies shorter still. In the "mushroom" towns of Kansas, v Mexico, Arizona and California law and order were erally conspicuous by their absence. If you got into a ted argument with someone well on in his "cups" and were v on the "draw," then "Boot Hill" was not too far away you would join the "great unknown," who rest there side each western town. Doheny neither smoked nor nk, and this may have been his salvation, for most quarrels an at the bars in the gambling halls.

## II

Doheny staked his claim and worked it well; for hin a few years he was the owner of some of the largest

silver mines in the New World. Men worked then with diamond drill and an eight or ten pound sledgehamm Such work was slow and very fatiguing; yet the young Iri American's tenacity, sobriety, generosity and knowledge men met with success where others had known only failu Then, one day, the Lord in His kindly providence reward Edward Doheny after a peculiar fashion. While working o of his claims, he slipped, fell into the shaft and fractured bo legs. His partner and friends eased as best they could journey to the doctor. Broken bones do not knit overnigh and so, in order not to waste this period of forced inactivi the sick man took up the study of mining law, a branch the law observed more in the breach than in the practi as he had discovered during his years of mining. Dohe became quite enthusiastic over this new branch of learni and within a remarkably short time he was admitted to t Bar of New Mexico as a full-fledged lawyer. He soon beca the leading authority on mining law in the country.

The years had taken wing under the spell of hard wo and honest living, and Doheny was one of the rich men America well before the turn of the century. He had co in search of gold, and had stayed to make his fortune in silv He was a lawyer of prominence and a business-man—p excellence. He had married and had become a proud fath It seemed that his cup of happiness was full to over flowi Added to all this, he was a good man, and in the spirit of t Scriptures and of the West he gave generously—gave with open hand. Living up to the Faith of his fathers and of Ireland, he practised his religion as best he could in th early and wild days. With priests few and far between, was not easy. The extent of the parishes exceeded that many dioceses; the journeys had to be made on horseba altar breads and wine were not only hard to obtain but a difficult to preserve. All things considered, the religion Doheny showed forth in the charity of the man. He gave his bounty to friend and foe alike, making friends of enemies a cementing the bonds of peace and goodwill among men. Th was nothing small or mean in the soul of this Irish-America

With the demonetization of silver in 1896 Doheny's rests were dealt a staggering blow. Silver, to all practical poses, became almost useless. Overnight, Edward Doheny id himself right back where he had started from. When had paid his bills and given his employees their generous es, he found that he must make a fresh start. Crucified a the silver men on the "cross of gold," he decided to further west and see what Lady Luck held in store for him Los Angeles. We can imagine the once wealthy Doheny ving in the City of the Angels, then in its maidenhood; can see him, travel-stained and weary, wandering un-iced through the primitive city which later, in its heyday, acclaim him as its leading citizen.

In the making of great fortunes there is generally an ment of chance. We do not know how far Doheny had spected the ground in Los Angeles before he decided to k up and abandon his mines in New Mexico. If he had inite plans and hopes, they certainly did not embrace the ppy stroke of luck which suddenly came his way. One e morning he stumbled up against an old associate who d a mining claim in Los Angeles. The latter invited Doheny inspect his mine, which was not giving much promise. On ching the mine, Doheny took up a shovel and began to n over some of the sandy earth, when suddenly there came m him an exclamation of surprise.

"What is the matter?" asked his friend.

"Oil!" exclaimed Doheny.

"Oil, indeed! You are crazy!" laughed his friend. Remember that you are in Los Angeles. And in any case, at good is oil?"

"You are looking and hoping for gold in this mine. All ht; we have found gold, for I'll prove to you that there more gold in oil than in gold itself."

Still his friend remained incredulous. But Doheny's long idy of mineral soils had not been for naught, and he had th in his own judgment of earth. So he scraped together bit of money by practising law, assaying ore, adjudging nes, and borrowing. Adding this to the meagre capital

saved from his one-time fortune, he managed to procu
options on a few lots in east Los Angeles. Then, with wh
help he could get from friends, he started to dig the first w
by himself, whilst others looked on amused and incredulo
But whatever Doheny touched turned to—silver or oil. O
day he leaped from his crude derrick and shouted : " Eureki
At last I have struck oil."

Oil had been found in the West. Doheny had unearth
the talisman that would set the country and half the wor
on fire once more—not gold this time, nor silver, but a bla
slippery liquid, crude oil. The news spread like wildfi
It was a momentous discovery for California, more momento
than the discovery of gold in 1849. Next morning all t
American newspapers carried huge headlines : " Dohe
strikes oil in Los Angeles." Wall Street was shaken by t
news ; the money market was naturally affected by the di
covery of new oil wells. Then began an oil rush somewh
similar to the gold rush of 1849, though the small man cann
so easily make a fortune on oil as on gold ; too much capit
is required. The population of Los Angeles increased by lea
and bounds, rising from 50,000 in 1890 to 1,250,000 in 1928, a
the man most responsible for this increase was probably Dohen
But the colossal changes for which he was responsible we
not made without opposition. Lovers of the beautiful we
naturally disgusted by the huge towering derricks, belchi
forth steam and a continuous flow of crude oil. City Fathe
are naturally conservative—at least they cannot be expect
to give a ready consent to projects which will ultimate
smother up the beauty spots of their city under unsight
towers, especially when the success of these projects is n
yet certain. But Doheny was used to opposition ; so
welcomed it with a kindly laugh and a laconic " wait an
see."

The City Fathers had not long to wait. As oil poured o
of their city, money poured in, and not even the most co
servative City Fathers can withstand the power of mone
Los Angeles grew up overnight, unfolding like a giant su
flower in the warm rays of the sun ; it became suddenly

kingdom, with the energetic Doheny for its king. ifornia had long been hampered by its want of coal. e long haul across the country made coal an expensive m. The railroad magnates were vainly looking for some ostitute to pull their huge trains over the "continental ride" from East to West. Then suddenly "a new star am into their ken." Was it a dream? Could oil really pplant coal as a motive power? It was given a trial in ose districts west of the Rockies where oil could be easily tained, and the trial proved a huge success. A new type car appeared on the railroad—the oil-car; a new type of ip appeared on the sea—the motor-ship; a new type of iler appeared in the factory—the oil-burner. In short, the hole of machinery was revolutionized by the discovery of in the West. This revolution in motive power was of eat importance for America, because the fear had been owing lest our coal deposits should become exhausted in e near future. The discovery of oil has dissipated that fear. ut oil has given us much more than motive power; it has ven us a whole range of by-products from medicine for r bodies to asphalt for our roads. Finally, mention must made of the natural gas which comes from the oil wells. is co-product, which can be burned in domestic stoves and rnaces, is so plentiful in California that it will last for years come. It is clear that Californians have good reason to be ateful to Doheny as a benefactor of their State.

Though California has alternated with Oklahoma as the ost important oil-producing State of the Union, still new pplies seemed only to create new demands; and so Doheny d his partner, Charles Canfield, set out for Mexico on pack ules in search of new oil fields to conquer. Already a illionaire, we can see Doheny and his ambling mules making e long trek into old Mexico. He must have rejoiced to get ck again to the simple life of his earlier days. He could ve given others instructions to prospect for oil in Mexico, he could have quietly settled down to enjoy the sufficiency at was his; but that was not the nature of the man—ever tive in mind and body, eager for hard work, especially

outdoor work, thoroughly efficient in all matters of busine a man of vision but not a dreamer. Doheny had a vision oil fields in Mexico, and he set out to test the vision. was soon rewarded with greater possessions than were his California. Within a couple of months he had purchas 16,000 acres of the finest oil land in the world. Will he now r from his wanderings and his gains? Or, like Alexander, he eager for new worlds to conquer?

From this point the epic story of Doheny sweeps on, its immensity, to its crisis and dénouement. Like a bolt fr the blue came the "Teapot Dome" oil scandal of 1924. was good copy for the newspapers, and they did not fail exploit it—with huge headlines running along the front pag "The greatest Oil Scandal in all History." It was a mome tous crisis in the life of Doheny. The facts are as follows.

Mr. Albert E. Fall, one of Doheny's early partners, w Secretary of the Interior under President Harding. Wh Doheny came into his oil fortune, Mr. Fall, hard pressed the moment for money, asked his old friend for a loan of o hundred thousand dollars on his promissory note. Dohe acquiesced without the slightest hesitation, put the o hundred thousand dollars in a black bag, and dispatch them by the courtesy of his own son to Secretary Fall. A ye later, however, complications set in. Secretary Fall ga Doheny the lease and exploitation rights to certain nav oil reserves in California. When this was discovered, t general impression created was that Secretary Fall had be bribed by Doheny. A number of civil and criminal actio were started against them; but Doheny proved his innocen and was acquitted in 1930. Mr. Fall, however, was sentenc to one year's imprisonment and was fined a sum equal to t alleged bribe. Doheny's explanation of this most embarrassi situation was as follows: "On March 30, 1921, I loan Secretary Fall one hundred thousand dollars on his promisso note. One hundred thousand dollars to me are like fif dollars to another man. I make many loans to friends. Yo gentlemen, would be surprised if I could give you the figures

A horrible tragedy cast a gloom over the closing yea

:he great Irish-American : in 1929 his son Eddie was killed his Secretary in a fit of temporary insanity. This tragedy med to take the last spark of joy out of the father's earthly . Of what use now were the millions accumulated at the t of laborious days and sleepless nights ? Doheny, how-r, did not say to himself, like the rich man in the Gospel : oul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years, take rest ; eat, drink, make good cheer." He now lived only others and appeared to find his sole joy in innumerable nefactions. He had always been generous ; he now became re generous than ever, rearing monuments of sweet charity the form of hospitals and seats of higher learning. No bscription list was complete without the firm signature of dward Doheny to a large donation. Ireland, too, was not gotten, and perhaps no one knows better than President mon de Valera how much Ireland in her hour of need owed him. But as Doheny never sought publicity and as his ght hand rarely knew what his left hand gave away, we ve no full record of his many benefactions.

It is small wonder that the bottom seemed to fall out of r little world a few weeks ago, when the great house in St. mes's Place took on an aspect of mourning. Edward oheny was dying. Masses and prayers were offered for his covery by priests and religious throughout the land, for his arity had extended far. Telegrams and letters of cheer ured in from far and near, testifying to the esteem in which e dying man was held. But God in His eternal designs saw to call His servant home, that he who had so generously ven might in turn generously receive. And then followed e grandest funeral cortège perhaps ever given by Los Angeles honour a citizen. Slowly it wended its way from the great use in St. James's Place to St. Vincent's Church, the grand thic structure which Doheny himself had reared aloft to d. Then they laid him away in Calvary Cemetery, at the t of the Cross—consigning his body to the grave, but com-itting his memory to the safe keeping of the nation which ves so much to the labours and discoveries and charities of is great Irish-American.

an José
California

GEORGE T. CROWLEY

# LUDOVICO NECCHI*

BY PROFESSOR MARY RYAN, M.A.

AT the foundation of the Catholic University of the Sacre Heart,[1] side by side with Padre Gemelli, or rather little in the background, stands Dr. Ludovico Necchi—Vi Necchi as he was called, first by an affectionate abbreviatio and later by a certain confusion with the name of the cel brated Italian jurist Vico. When we say that he stands in th background, we use the metaphor in a double sense; f while he kept by choice out of view, a retiring though ass duous collaborator, he was in reality at the back of the whol tremendous movement.

Right away at the beginning, rough-hewing the end that Providence was about to shape, we find a Catholi schoolboy, differing mainly through his religion from h companions.

Born in 1876, Necchi had lost his young father, an arm captain, at the age of six. Two years later his mother, wh was of noble birth, had married the sculptor Villa, and hence forward the home atmosphere though affectionate and mora was almost entirely irreligious. However, thanks to a saintl great-aunt and her daughter, the child had been under Catholi influence from babyhood and had spent most of the year 1881–1889 in Catholic schools.

After his First Communion in 1888, his parents (Necch always regarded Villa as a father, and later was formall adopted by him) disapproved of his marked religious ben

* Pio Bondioli: *Vico Necchi, fedel Servo di Dio* (Milan, 1934).
Filippo Meda: *Ludovico Necchi* (Milan, 1931).
Francesco Olgiati: *Un Maestro di Fede e di Vita, Vico Necchi* (Milan, 1931).
Giorgio La Pira: *L'Anima di un Apostolo* (Milan, 1932).
Maria di Pietro: *Il Cavaliere della Croce* (Milan, 1934).
Silvio Vismara: *L'Apostolato laico di Vico Necchi* (Milan, 1934).
*Un Eroe della Vita Cristiana* (Florence, 1934).
*Pensieri Religiosi di Vico Necchi* (Milan, 1935).

[1] Cf. STUDIES, Dec., 1934, *The Catholic University of the Sacred Heart and its Founde* and the references there given.

transferred him to a public secondary school (*Reale asio*). There he was "bitterly struck and surprised he fact that what he had learned of religion . . . was a ect of laughter and scorn to the majority" (p. 29).[1] re he met Gemelli, fair-haired, short-sighted, strangely d, who has put on record the fascination that the other , bright-eyed boy had for his companions and himself. felt an immediate liking for him because he was easy in ner, open, frank, and yet reserved. The boys next him, knew him from the year before, depended on him for r tasks. . . His house, which was very close to the school, their rendezvous. Simple in his dress, he had an unusual of fur cap which I thought remarkably beautiful and n envied. . . . And while my immediate companions . . . y ridiculed and irritated me, I found him approachable helpful. . . .He had something attractive in his salute; ontinual kindly smile on his lips; a quick intelligence ch enabled him apparently to reach a result with one rt; in a word, Ludovico Necchi showed even then a balanced sonality made up of serenity and goodness, qualities that might call the characteristic features of his whole life" 30).

At the *Liceo*, the higher secondary school to which they nt in 1893, the Catholic boy stood out still more from his ows. The teachers there were definitely anti-religious, l immorality was rampant. Living thus, from the age of to 20, both at school and at home, in an actively hostile nosphere and feeling a very natural discouragement and pression, he met, by one of those encounters we call idental, a very holy, learned, and original Jesuit, Padre ttiussi. Padre Mattiussi was unflinching in his convictions l a fierce adversary of false thinkers, but an angel of good- s. His influence was incalculable in developing Necchi's ritual life and helping him to face immediate difficulties. t he saw further ahead. He was deeply interested in ural science, then the arena of the fight against the Catholic

[1] This and all further quotations, unless otherwise indicated, are taken from Bondioli's *Necchi*.

faith ; and he discerned in Necchi a fine potential champ the most philosophical mind he ever met. He tutored hir Thomistic philosophy to arm him against the reigning p tivism and Kantian subjectivism ; he turned his attentior biological science, and thus determined Necchi's choice a career, though it involved his putting aside his own leanir which were historical, literary and artistic. There appea under Padre Mattiussi's influence what P. Gemelli calls " characteristic mark of Ludovico Necchi's spiritual life, t is the union or rather the identity of the interior life and life of thought, the organic connection between the teachi of philosophy and theology and the practical norm of lif (p. 58).

So that when Necchi went to Pavia as a medical stud in 1896, he speedily became a leader of the little band Catholics in the Circolo San Severino Boezio who were fighti false philosophy, militant socialism, and moral licence. Fr 1896 to 1902, when he took his degree, he was the soul Catholic action and defence, especially against the Socialis who now had Gemelli as one of their most brilliant leade To this activity we shall refer again. His studies suffer somewhat ; he sacrificed academic distinction to what felt to be an imperious though very often distasteful an in the long run, an exhausting duty.

Having got his degree, Necchi determined to devo himself to professional work. In December, 1903, he was se along with Gemelli for his year of service to the Militar Hospital in Milan. Gemelli came to the hospital still ver anticlerical, but with his faith shaken in the sincerity of h former comrades and in the validity of their philosophy Here the discussions of student days began afresh. Necch with some Franciscans and other clerics also on militar duty, used to go in the early morning to the nuns' chap for Mass and Communion. This unostentatious example and especially Necchi's conscientious performance of tire some duties, coupled with his prayers, brought about Gemelli' conversion and surrender in that notable Holy Week of 190 followed soon by his resolution to become a Franciscan

e Necchi was left pondering and doubting as to his own
n. A retreat in December, 1903, at the Jesuit house at
irana convinced him that life in the world and the lay
stolate in medical work were his vocation.

Necchi now spent a year in Berlin to perfect his studies
gain experience. Fearing that he lacked specialisation
feeling more attracted to direct work among the sick,
refused the offer of a chair of anatomy at Fribourg, to
disappointment of his friends. His mother died suddenly
October, 1904, and soon after, most romantically, he met his
ure wife. He married early in 1905, and began to practise
ith complete indifference to monetary success—chiefly
ong the poor, in hospitals, for friendly societies, and in the
an institute for medical aid.

In 1906 we find Necchi president of a Boys' Club and a
emost member of the recently founded *Unione Popolare
i Cattolici d'Italia*.[1] His friends clamoured for his return
the old life of Catholic action. In 1907, at the pressing
quest of Cardinal Ferrari, he became a member and then,
seven years, President of the Diocesan Committee:
ich meant that he was at the head of the whole Catholic
ganisation in Milan. In an acute crisis in 1908 he was
cted a member of the Municipal Council, and for several
ars in one capacity or the other staunchly defended the
aching of religion in the elementary schools, the free use
church bells, the authority of the Holy See; he interested
mself in the cause of defective children and in attempts
stem the abuse of alcohol; he attended Congresses, Social
eeks, religious gatherings without number.

From his youth up Necchi had been a journalist, and was
-founder and continual collaborator from 1909 in P. Gemelli's
views and all his cultural work. He stood by him all through
e fierce Lourdes controversy. "They were both animated
the same fervour; keen and carrying all before it in the
nvert, who had a bitter and direct experience of the dominat-

[1] The *Unione Popolare* was founded in 1905–6, to do for Italy what the Volksverein
d done in Germany. Its programme, based on Leo XIII's Encyclicals, was largely
mulated by Toniolo. It superseded the *Opera dei Congressi*.

ing positivist materialism, quieter but no less profound Necchi, who on his side knew the importance and necess of intensifying Catholic culture" (p. 352). In 1910, at express wish of Pius X, he became President of the *Uni Popolare*, and held that difficult office for two years and half. It is on record that in the first six months of 19 Necchi got through 225 meetings and lectures! Ag after the war, we find him drawn into public life as Provinc Councillor, and he did not succeed in withdrawing fina until 1925. And yet he once defined himself as a hermit the year 1000, compelled to live in the twentieth centu He was "inclined to meditation and reflection, with a mi open to the greatest problems rather than to the soluti of small details; with a culture comprehensive rather th rich in special departments, he overcame and conquer these inclinations of his . . . we saw him accept difficu posts in battles in which defeat was a foregone conclusion. When a standard bearer was needed and a man who wou sacrifice himself, L. Necchi was called on and never said no (p. 501).

Necchi had been adverse to Italian intervention in t war; but when it came, he went, in spite of his age, positi and family ties, to the front lines, first as a simple sergean soon as a lieutenant, later as captain—"because," as said, "everyone had to do his duty, and the Catholics shou be foremost, and foremost amongst them should be thos who had been averse from intervention" (p. 470). Th testimonials to his work as a doctor, and still more to th tonic example of his cheerful courage and intense faith, a innumerable.

Necchi was P. Gemelli's unfailing collaborator at ever stage in the foundation of the Catholic University. He wa the assiduous, patient, wise counsellor. "When he gives hi advice, I feel in him the voice of the Lord," wrote P. Gemell He it was who proposed publicly to honour the Sacred Hear in the title of the University. He used all his influence t help to finance the undertaking. He was one of its firs governors and professors, adding these tasks to those of hi

fession, which after the war grew more and more absorbing. had the joy of seeing the old monastery, near which he s born and where he had served as a young doctor in the itary Hospital, acquired by the University. And a few rs before his death he assisted at the blessing of the statue Christ the King on the facade of the building.

In 1929, towards the end of the summer, Necchi developed nptoms of serious illness, and he himself knew after an eration how serious it was, though his friends affected a eerfulness they did not feel. The history of those last nths, during which he concealed his sufferings from all d gave up no part of his work, is moving in the extreme, d may be read in full in any of the biographies that have en written of Necchi. On January 10th, 1930, he died most suddenly, on the evening of a day on which he had tended a Board Meeting of the University and had seen patients.

Such is the outward story of a man who, " from the dawn the sunset of his life, was faithful to Our Lord Jesus Christ, rong in goodness, gentle in firmness, noble in his affections, his studies, in his work "—as we read on the memorial blet erected by P. Gemelli in the vestibule of the University.

The most striking thing in this life was its unity : its ity and simplicity of direction, its unity in multiplicity. he root of it was in Necchi's deep, underlying, all-pervading irituality. The profane pen can touch on such things ly with reticence and reverence ; but the fruits were visible all : continual serene joyousness, goodness, gentleness, ndness, a cheerful self-control, never failing courtesy to all actised as a virtue ; a " spell cast by his conquering humility all who approached him," self-effacement, heroic acceptance suffering and death. " I can with full conscience bear tness," writes P. Gemelli, " that of the exceedingly numerous uls I have been in contact with and known, his was beyond ubt the finest and most heroic in its simplicity, its immediate course to God ; the most serene in the accomplishment every duty." [1]

[1] *Vita e Pensiero*, March 1930.

This deep spirituality found its expression in every relati of life. Look at Necchi first in his family. It is positive painful to read, in spite of the affection that his parents f for him, of the opposition, tyrannical restrictions, and ner outbursts which, even when he was a university studer he encountered at home, especially from his mother: who still he regarded with the most genuine love and treat always with the utmost filial respect. To his stepfather al he gave the attentions of a son. When his own turn can he was an exemplary father. He had three children, and h devotion to them seemed almost excessive to his friend "To them," writes P. Gemelli, "he sacrificed his studies ar every outside activity. He took such a high view of th education of his children that, from material care when the were little to moral care when they were bigger, he neglecte nothing. He could confide to me that he had never left ther in contact with persons or things or in surroundings tha were not fully known to himself first. . He created for h children the ideal Christian atmosphere in which they gre up. He was really heroic. I repeat it: to his family, t the education of his children he sacrificed everything (p. 588). Besides Necchi's conscientiousness, we mus remember his own experiences and intimate knowledge of th dangers besetting childhood. Yet when we are told in hi biography that he sent his children when young to religiou schools, that he helped the boys to prepare their lessons corrected false tendencies in their teachers' philosophy, banne theatres, cinemas, and fashionable amusements, we are almos relieved to read further that he was their adored friend, play mate, companion, and referee. His daughter Camilla give a charming picture of their home life.

Look at Necchi as a student. We who live in traditiona Catholic surroundings need an effort of the imaginatio to realise the university atmosphere into which he wa plunged: the welter of ideas, the violence of subversive movements, political tumult and intrigues, masonic influences, misguided youthful idealisms, what P. Gemelli calls the "religious fervour" of the young socialists, "the joy o

ng devoted life to an idea,"—a mirrored reflection of the e of things then prevailing in Italy as a whole.[1] Leo XIII issued the *Rerum Novarum* in 1891. The Catholic gress movement had formulated a programme of Catholic on, the "programme of Milan" of 1894. Christian ocracy had been conditionally approved as an antidote ocialism. As vice-president and then as president of the olo S. S. Boezio, Necchi threw himself into the movement. personality and ready gift of speech brought him into and wherever a cause had to be fought or a principle ended, and he became a sure guide and intrepid leader. those days of open debate—public disputations between posing champions were much in fashion—he never evaded an ack or yielded a principle. Toniolo admired his balance steadiness. He spoke in open squares, country villages, oolrooms, public halls. "Never was he intimidated by the s and hisses with which his voice was often received; even when fists were used more than once, so that he and companions were actually driven out of the debating m where he had raised his voice in defence of the Church the Pope." He had amazing self-control. To a friend, prised at his even getting a hearing in hostile quarters, he the secret: "Let them all talk, keeping your nerves in trol and your mind quiet. When it is possible to speak, back to principles, and when they are rightly applied, ical and convincing conclusions will follow" (p. 92). t, indeed, it hardly appears that he convinced his opponents often as he secured their respect by his patient courtesy, ight and spirit of justice; he saw a possible convert to ist in every adversary. Gemelli was by no means the only son whom he impressed and attracted by his clear thought, nness, large mindedness, and gentleness in those years. Necchi was also a great spiritual force among young tholic students. He showed them that to hold their own y must be faultless in conduct and successful in their dies. He was a member of the Congregation of Our Lady

[1] For an interesting picture of the time, cf. *The Catholic Revival in Italy*, 1815–1915, Rev. H. L. Hughes (Burns Oates, 1935).

and of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. As such he tri
but without success, to set on foot a scheme for housing
very poor—having first studied what had been done elsewhe
In leisure moments he wrote poems for himself and his intima
friends, and plays for his Circolo, among them a histori
melodrama "Thomas More." His activity was reward
with the Cross *Pro ecclesia et pontifice* in 1900—but this w
only an impetus to more intense action. In order mo
adequately to realise the programme and principles of Christi
democracy, he founded, in the teeth of difficulties and m
understandings, the *Fascio democratico cristiano* of Mil
in 1900. When, in 1902, the excesses of certain Christi
Democrats called for a ruling from the Pope, it was large
due to Necchi's influence that the majority of young grou
accepted it. While still a student he was a member
Council of the Milan Diocesan Committee. He championed th
rights of Catholic working women and helped to band the
into a League. He was appointed member of a strike arbitra
tion committee, and helped to found professional groups
employers and employed both for town and country, so tha
he could write to a friend in May, 1901 : "God is succourin
us with visible help. . . The battle against the enemies
Christ is engaged on every side, but victory smiles at u
from afar" (p. 214).

That is but a meagre summary of the manifold activit
of that most intense period of Necchi's life. It is no wonde
that in the years 1900–1902 he suffered from nervous strain
nor that he tried for some years afterwards to concentrat
on his profession. How he was compelled to return to publi
life we have already seen, and as the student, so was the man

Look at him as a professor. Necchi had said that i
he could do nothing else to help on the Catholic University
he would be willing to sweep it. Yet he accepted the chair o
biology as a duty, his own taste being rather for speculation
than for teaching. P. Gemelli wrote in 1930 : "Our Faculty
of Philosophy is the only one in the kingdom in which young
men get scientific teaching in order to prepare them to
elaborate philosophic concepts. . . We are persuaded . . .

t the philosopher who wants to construct a philosophy nature must have an adequate preparation, amongst other ngs, in the biological sciences. . . . Now Dr. Necchi was fectly adapted to this kind of teaching. His culture was th biological and philosophical. . . . Therefore, his lessons oused special interest and exercised a great formative luence. I recall, under this heading, his lectures on heredity, the doctrine of evolution, on the nature of vital processes and ners" (p. 563). Necchi was a living proof of the compatibility of science and faith. But his influence on his udents was also exercised by his interest in them outside e lecture room, his medical advice, his sharing in their tivities. They sometimes complained, writes a colleague, at he did not assert himself more. "But who knows how eritorious before the Lord was this keeping in the shade, is attitude of a silent collaborator?" [1]

Most interesting of all, perhaps, is to look at Necchi as professional man, whose profession was a *ministry*: the ord is used as far back as 1902 by a friend who wrote to m: "You love your sick, you are glad to be amongst the dless sufferings of the wards" (p. 233). He aimed at general, though never at a remunerative, practice. Time d again he was called from it into public life. But in his unicipal work he came into contact with the ravages of cohol, with deaf-mutes and defective children, and with uestions of pedagogy and hygiene. He had studied ychology at the University; he shared in P. Gemelli's searches into biology and experimental psychology, studied normal mental states and kindred questions in defending e miracles of Lourdes and opposing materialistic theories criminology, and wrote continually on these subjects in ilosophical and scientific reviews. Moreover he had some rsonal experience of these things. He had apparently ffered prolonged spells of nerve strain, painful sense of sponsibility, scruples, a sort of terror of life.

Then after the war, in which P. Gemelli had remarkable portunities of experience, he suggested to his friend to rn his attention specially to those unclassified mental,

[1] P. Cordovani, in *Un Eroe*, etc., p. 21

so called nervous, maladies that occupied men like Jane Freud, Adler. "We are still," writes P. Gemelli, "far fro having laid down even the fundamental lines of the natur mechanism, and treatment of these maladies; our knowled of psychiatry is too morphological and too little psychologic to enable us to understand these processes. . . These abnorm conditions frequently, in believers, present a religiou content. In my opinion the diagnosis is so difficult, th therapeutic treatment so delicate, merely to put questio to the patient is so dangerous, that I consider, contrary t what has been written even in recent books, that a confesso should confine himself purely to a line of religious guidanc and not touch on the disease; these patients should be sen to a doctor. But if they are sent to an ordinary docto even a psychiatrist, he subjects the patient to the ordinar remedies: medicaments, electric treatment, baths, even sug gestion and hypnotism. The sure result is . . . the fixin of the malady in a chronic form. The specialist is needed . . In each of the great cities abroad I know someone who ha devoted himself with special care to this field of researc and its applications" (p. 532).

Necchi complied with the suggestion, and not only ac cumulated in his notes of cases an important mass of materia for research, but achieved the most remarkable success b his patience, personality, and unbounded devotion to hi patients. His aim was "not only to save the physica organism and the mind of those prostrated by neurasthenia but most of all to save souls that cannot believe in life becaus they do not believe in God" (p. 12). He restored his patient to health by "bringing them to a surer outlook on life an making them see it from the angle of God's Providence (p. 539). His sense of a doctor's responsibility to his patient is given thus in his own words: "We must bring all ou science to bear; we must do what is humanly possible no only to cure them, but even to lengthen their life by a singl minute—for on it their eternal happiness or misery ma depend. While an act of carelessness may sometimes mak us guilty of homicide before God." [1]

[1] Quoted in *Un Eroe*, etc.,

A colleague describes in particular his dealing with children. ery Thursday for ten years, without once losing his smiling enity, he " examined, studied, comforted " the little candi- tes for admission to the Institute San Vincenzo for defective ildren, listened to pitiable stories of misfortune and even sin and crime. Two thousand one hundred and eighty ildren were thus personally examined by him.

Much might be written—much has been written—of what cchi was in rare intimate intercourse with his friends, his retreats, in the course of his spiritual life. From his ters and his scanty writings—other than review articles d scientific publications—a little anthology has been made nich reveals a soul of great strength and purity. His oughts on charity, social justice, religious indifference, e Christian family, the choice of a state in life, light up his vn life for us and help us to understand the words of Cardinal huster in 1933, when the diocesan cause of Necchi's beatifica- on was introduced at Milan: " Heroism consists in the ristian life lived in its integrity. . . . It is no wonder that udovico Necchi, having lived the Gospel in its integrity, ay perhaps be called by the Church after mature investigation hero of Christian life."

A fellow-worker,[1] " *terzo* tra cotanto senno," compares e friendship of Gemelli and Necchi to that of Roland and liver. " Roland is valiant and Oliver is wise," but the alour of heroes does not exclude high wisdom, nor their isdom valour. The suggestion may be carried further. the old poem and in the modern—for is not the story of e Catholic University the epic of a great adventure?— e two friends were the foremost of a picked band. Roland dmonished his peers as they went into battle: " For his rd a man must endure all distress. . . . Let each one see at he performs great deeds." The modern Roland and liver and their companions have indeed done heroic deeds, a greater cause, for their Lord.

MARY RYAN

[1] Mgr. Olgiati. See the photograph in Bondioli facing page 544 and his book, *Un aestro*, etc., p. 131.

# TEN YEARS OF EXPORT TRADE
## 1924—1933

BY EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J.

## Part II.—The Cattle Trade *

BEFORE we examine the cattle export trade for the last te years or so, we must take a look at the source and origi not only of all our live cattle exports but also of all our milk butter and cheese supply both for home consumption an for export—the Saorstát cattle herd.

The size of the Saorstát cattle herd (*i.e.*, of the herd in th twenty-six counties) was barely 2,000,000 in 1847, 1848 an 1849. It then increased gradually, with set-backs, to 3,000,00 in 1866. It continued to increase but slowly, oscillatin between 3,200,000 and 3,400,000 for nearly 25 years, bu eventually went to 3,700,000 in 1890. There was a continuou increase, then, up to 1908, when the herd was over 4,000,000 for the first time. It remained steady at 4,000,000 or slightl over till 1921, when it jumped to 4,419,347—the highest figur it ever reached. The years since then are given in Table VI It will be seen that the 1934 herd is still over 4,000,000.

TABLE VI

Cattle Herd of Saorstát Eireann: 1922–1934 (in thousands

| | Total of all Cattle | Milch Cows | Heifers in Calf | Bulls | Under 1 year | 1—2 years | 2—3 years | 3 and over |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1925 ... | 3,991 | 1,183 | 81 | 28 | 919 | 771 | 689 | 319 |
| 1926 ... | 3,947 | 1,184 | 98 | 23 | 927 | 747 | 670 | 298 |
| 1927 ... | 4,047 | 1,234 | 97 | 23 | 1,001 | 780 | 628 | 283 |
| 1928 ... | 4,125 | 1,231 | 84 | 23 | 1,008 | 878 | 649 | 252 |
| 1929 ... | 4,137 | 1,227 | 80 | 21 | 1,010 | 875 | 672 | 252 |
| 1930 ... | 4,038 | 1,225 | 87 | 22 | 938 | 875 | 652 | 240 |
| 1931 ... | 4,029 | 1,222 | 78 | 22 | 995 | 856 | 619 | 237 |
| 1932 ... | 4,025 | 1,230 | 68 | 23 | 1,016 | 861 | 606 | 222 |
| 1933 ... | 4,137 | 1,268 | 70 | 24 | 1,002 | 894 | 645 | 233 |
| 1934 ... | 4,086 | 1,309 | 75 | 25 | 984 | 861 | 602 | 230 |
| 1935 ... | | | | | | | | |
| 1922 ... | 4,375 | 1,289 | 103 | 33 | 984 | 905 | 1,061 | |
| 1923 ... | 4,278 | 1,269 | 107 | 32 | 972 | 857 | 1,040 | |
| 1924 ... | 4,268 | 1,261 | 103 | 31 | 988 | 834 | 1,050 | |

Note.—1922, 1923 and 1924 were in an abnormal period and hence are separate from the series.

* For Part I see September issue. A serious error occurred on page 466, line 7, of th former article; the figure 69·4 should be 95. On page 465 might be added the Inde Numbers for 1934 which are now available: Import, 77·2; Export, 62·2.

Iore important, perhaps, than the total number of cattle n Saorstát is the number of each type. The number of n cows—the dairy herd and source of our cattle for export s remained extraordinarily steady for the last eighty s, since 1854, hardly varying in any year by more than 00—100,000, and consistently tending to gravitate back ,200,000. The highest figure the dairy herd reached was 859, when it touched 1,323,720, and it never went above 0,000 again until last year (1934) when it was 1,309,000. economic significance of this fact must be passed over as are engaged only in an examination of exports of cattle. The statistics for " heifers in calf " have only been collected e 1908. Up to 1920 the average number of heifers in calf n year was between 70,000 and 80,000, but in 1920 and o 1924 the figure rose to 100,000 or more. The figures recent years can be seen in Table VI. The tendency—ersed in the last two years—has been for the number of ers in calf to fall : a bad export market for butter and fat tore cattle would account for this. While the number of ers in calf was falling, the milch cows were increasing, ibly owing to the difficulty of disposing of old cows and absence of a market for young milch cows and springers. will be seen from Table VII, the exports of milch cows springers have fallen from 74,000 (valued at £1,529,000) 930, a peak-year, to 28,000 (£364,000) in 1933, but have n again in 1934. As we are chiefly concerned with exports, ill be enough to mention two points concerning the dairy d of 1,309,000 milch cows. (i) The importance of the long successful efforts of the authorities to improve the milk-d and milk-quality : an average increase of 100 gallons ear with a 1,300,000 herd means a money value increase something like £1,625,000, putting the price of milk as as 3d. a gallon. (ii) There is a certain relation between use of the land (pasture, hay, root crops, corn crops) and number of cattle carried on the land. A very great increase he acreage under root crops (which must normally follow increase in corn crops, wheat) would mean that more le would have to be carried. The acreage at present

under root and green crops for live stock feeding is proba 270,000 acres or less. If another 500,000 acres are eventu added to this (an optimistic estimate), the disposal of produce would have to be looked to: if 270,000 acres sufficient for 4,000,000 cattle, 770,000 acres would prov for a great many cattle. The loss from the hay or past

TABLE VII

Exports of Milch Cows and Calves: 1924-1934

| Year | Milch Cows and Springers | | Calves | | Value of a Cattle expor as per cen of Total Exported |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Value | No. | Value | |
| | | £ | | £ | per cent. |
| 1924 ... | 56,000 | 1,149,000 | 37,000 | 308,000 | 34·4 |
| 1925 ... | 39,000 | 863,000 | 31,000 | 267,000 | 30·0 |
| 1926 ... | 43,000 | 936,000 | 19,000 | 171,000 | 29·5 |
| 1927 ... | 50,000 | 1,044,000 | 27,000 | 236,000 | 26·9 |
| 1928 ... | 58,000 | 1,166,000 | 47,000 | 384,000 | 28·9 |
| 1929 ... | 63,000 | 1,298,000 | 51,000 | 402,000 | 28·9 |
| 1930 ... | 74,000 | 1,529,000 | 65,000 | 551,000 | 32·9 |
| 1931 ... | 63,000 | 1,274,000 | 69,000 | 601,000 | 34·9 |
| 1932 ... | 45,000 | 775,000 | 64,000 | 495,000 | 34·3 |
| 1933 ... | 28,000 | 364,000 | 59,000 | 336,000 | 31·8 |
| 1934 ... | 47,000 | 552,000 | 38,000 | 127,000 | 23·4 |
| 1935, Jan.-Sept. | 41,027 | 468,198 | 18,899 | 50,139 | — |
| 1934, Jan.-Sept. | 30,029 | 350,851 | 28,301 | 104,835 | — |

of 500,000 acres would probably not be felt: there are 2,250,0 acres under hay and 8,000,000 acres under pasture at prese supporting our live-stock. It has to be remembered that A Saorstát has nearly 12,000,000 acres of good arable lan only a population of 3,000,000 to feed, and that the yie per acre and per man is rising. For many a year to come w

have to provide some profitable use for about 9,000,000 s of pasture and hay, and at least 500,000 acres of root s fit only for animal consumption; for the produce of 0,000 acres will certainly keep our flour mills and bakeries, sugar-factories, our breweries, our linen mills and even alcohol factories fully supplied.

A word must suffice for the export figures for calves. These ained relatively high from 1928 till 1933, but the bounty alf-skins in 1934 evidently drew off a considerable number n the export market. The value of 37,000 calves exported 924 was £308,000; ten years later the same number or ttle more fetched only £127,000.

Two extremely able analyses of the cattle trade of An rstát have appeared recently: one in the Agricultural istics 1847-1926 and its sequel, the other in Trade and oping Statistics, 1930 (P. No. 590). A number of signi-nt facts given in the latter survey are worth reproducing. Saorstát Eireann is by far the most important cattle orting country in the world: in 1930 its exports con-uted one-third of the total world trade in live cattle, being ,878—the next biggest exporter being Mexico with 173,085. An Saorstát is unique in the volume of exports in relation he stock in the country: about 19 per cent. of the numbers attle in the country on the 1st June being exported, com-ed with 9 per cent. for Denmark and 8 per cent. for uguay. (iii) The proportion of cattle exports to total orts (given in Table VII) increased to nearly 35 per cent. 931, but fell greatly to 23·4 per cent. in 1934. (iv) Nine-ths by value of exports are fat and store cattle (1930); had fallen to eight-tenths in 1934. (v) "The proportion emale cattle in the total export tends generally to follow latter figure, and this fact seems to indicate that in years large exports inroads are made into the stocks of cattle mally required to replenish the dairy herd." (vi) "The orts usually constitute about five-sixths of the annual duction." (vii) The steady diminution in the numbers tore cattle 3 years and over [from 319,000 in 1925 to 230,000 1934] indicates that the exports of this class of cattle are

declining. (viii) Changes in the exports of store cattle depe largely on increases and decreases in the production of fora crops, especially hay from permanent meadow, in Gre Britain: from March to August the hay produced, fro September to February the root crops seem to be the i fluencing factor. (ix) It is obvious that changes in the pri of cattle will affect the exports, as cattle can be held ov without much loss for a certain length of time. But suppli of live cattle both in England and from outside it as well supplies of beef from Argentine will greatly affect price Finally, prosperity in England has a great influence upo the quantity and quality of meat consumed, and hence o the demand for both fat and store beasts.

TABLE VIII

Exports of Fat and Store Cattle: 1924-1934

| Year | Fat | | Stores | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Value £ | No. | Value £ |
| 1924 ... | 351,000 | 7,502,000 | 499,000 | 8,316,000 |
| 1925 ... | 262,000 | 5,745,000 | 362,000 | 6,120,000 |
| 1926 ... | 269,000 | 5,794,000 | 305,000 | 5,252,000 |
| 1927 ... | 286,000 | 5,943,000 | 283,000 | 4,646,000 |
| 1928 ... | 316,000 | 6,474,000 | 328,000 | 5,145,000 |
| 1929 ... | 332,000 | 6,817,000 | 329,000 | 5,032,000 |
| 1930 ... | 294,000 | 6,070,000 | 425,000 | 6,524,000 |
| 1931 ... | 267,000 | 5,259,000 | 367,000 | 5,536,000 |
| 1932 ... | 215,000 | 3,388,000 | 322,000 | 4,088,000 |
| 1933 ... | 230,000 | 2,693,000 | 273,000 | 2,661,000 |
| 1934 ... | 127,000 | 1,408,000 | 299,000 | 2,171,000 |
| 1935, Jan.-Sept. | 96,362 | 1,057,854 | 282,732 | 1,922,799 |
| 1934, Jan.-Sept. | 77,886 | 863,388 | 177,884 | 1,331,472 |

With regard to the export of "fat cattle," the actua number exported has fallen from 351,000 in 1924 to 230,00

933—a decrease of 121,000 in ten years. However, the figure was abnormally large, and a glance at Table VIII show that a more accurate idea of our trade in fat cattle be got by neglecting this abnormal year. We then find our exports of fat cattle rose steadily from 262,000 745,000) in 1925 to a peak of 332,000 (£6,817,000) in 1929, then fell steadily and steeply to 127,000 (£1,408,000) in 4. There is no need to stress the nature of these figures: ed in juxtaposition they speak for themselves.

TABLE IX

Exports of Fat Cattle in 1929 and 1934

| Year | No. | Value | Average price per head |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | £ | £ s. |
| 1929 ... | 332,000 | 6,817,000 | 20 10 |
| 1934 ... | 127,000 | 1,408,000 | 11 2 |
| Fall in 5 years | 205,000 | 5,409,000 | 9 8 |

It is extremely important to note that this steady fall an in 1930—that is to say, two years before there was any stion of penal duties being imposed on Irish cattle by gland. Indeed, it is important to note precisely the teps" in this fall, which are set out here in tabular form.

TABLE X

"Steps" in Fall of Exports of Fat Cattle: 1929-1934

| Year | Yearly "Step" Fall or Rise in Number | Yearly "Step" Fall in Value |
|---|---|---|
| | | £ |
| 1930 ... | — 38,000 | — 747,000 |
| 1931 ... | — 27,000 | — 811,000 |
| 1932 ... | — 52,000 | — 1,871,000 |
| 1933 ... | + 15,000 | — 695,000 |
| 1934 ... | — 103,000 | — 1,285,000 |

From this Table it can be seen that in the year 1933, t first complete year of the English penal duties, the numb of " fat cattle " exported was actually greater by 15,000 th in 1932, though the value continued to fall. The Brit duties on cattle came into operation by an Act of 12 July 19 (Irish Free State (Special Duties) Act), and in Novemb of that year (1932) Saorstát produce ceased to be exem from the general 10 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on all impo into England. Four distinct periods may be noted in t matter of the restriction of Saorstát cattle exports to Englar (1) July 1932 to April 11, 1933—during which period the was an *ad valorem* (20 per cent. to 40 per cent.) duty on catt (2) April 11, 1933 to December 20, 1933—when the *ad valor* duty was changed to a fixed sum per head :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Under 6 months | .. | £1 | 5 0 |
| 6-15 months .. | .. | 2 | 10 0 |
| 15 to 2 years .. | .. | 4 | 0 0 |
| 2 years and upwards | .. | 6 | 0 0 |
| " Mincers " .. | .. | 3 | 0 0 |

(3) The third period began on December 12, 1933, by Order prohibiting, except under licence, the import in England of live cattle (in force from January 1, 1934). Th Order did not apply to calves under 6 months, milch co or heifers in calf, but only to fat and store cattle and bul This was the beginning of the quota system : the first quot being (1934) :—

| | January | February | March |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fat .. | 7,120 | 6,160 | 6,920 |
| Stores .. | 30,450 | 27,500 | 30,450 |
| Bulls .. | 1,445 | 1,305 | 1,445 |

In addition to limiting the *number* of cattle allowed in England, the import duties remained on. The result of th is at once apparent in the final figures of cattle exports f 1934 (the first full year of the quota system and the secon of the import duties) : exports of " fat cattle " were dow to 127,000 (£1,408,000)—a drop, as we have seen, of 103,0 head and £1,285,000 in value. It is altogether unlikely th

drop in *number* was in any great degree due to the import es : it seems to have been almost completely due to the tation imposed by the quota. (4) The fourth period menced on February 1, 1935, when an order of 8 January, 5, came into force appointing the period 1 February–July, 1935, as the first quota period under a new arrange-nt with the English Government. The English Govern-nt agreed to increase the quotas for cattle in 1935 in all egories by 33⅓ per cent. over the quotas for 1934 in return increased purchases by the Saorstát of coal to an equivalent ue. During the period 1 February–31 July, 1935, the ota of coal allowed into Saorstát Eireann was fixed at 00,000 tons, of which 1,099,000 tons must be from Great tain. The effect of this " Coal-Cattle Pact " was at once n in the figures of cattle exports.

TABLE XI

Fat Cattle Exports in 1935 and 1934

| | 1935 | | 1934 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Value | No. | Value |
| | | £ | | £ |
| January ... | 7,392 | 83,355 | 9,772 | 108,687 |
| February... | 9,029 | 97,789 | 8,027 | 94,446 |
| March ... | 12,451 | 137,834 | 9,329 | 108,691 |
| April ... | 9,838 | 103,936 | 6,006 | 67,623 |
| May ... | 8,840 | 98,709 | 5,608 | 64,689 |
| June ... | 8,990 | 99,458 | 4,553 | 48,549 |
| July ... | 10,369 | 116,842 | 6,634 | 70,410 |
| August ... | 10,612 | 116,006 | 14,844 | 159,801 |
| Sept. ... | 18,841 | 202,340 | 13,113 | 140,492 |

These are the changes in the " fat cattle " exports for the st nine months in 1935 as compared with the same months 1934. The following Table gives the figures for the whole ttle export trade during the same period.

## Table XII

### Cattle Exports : 1935 and 1934

| | 1935 | | 1934 | | Increase Decrease Number |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Value £ | No. | Value £ | |
| January ... | 36,148 | 302,315 | 41,902 | 368,022 | — 5,75 |
| February ... | 37,692 | 304,606 | 38,018 | 324,960 | — 32 |
| March ... | 67,592 | 511,123 | 44,003 | 368,015 | + 23,58 |
| April ... | 59,222 | 437,571 | 35,962 | 287,742 | + 23,26 |
| May ... | 50,983 | 371,578 | 36,211 | 285,340 | + 14,77 |
| June ... | 39,638 | 309,688 | 27,180 | 210,069 | + 12,45 |
| July ... | 50,033 | 405,211 | 19,460 | 177,341 | + 30,57 |
| August ... | 32,746 | 294,877 | 30,436 | 286,821 | + 2,31 |
| September ... | 64,966 | 560,436 | 40,928 | 342,237 | + 24,03 |
| Total (9 mths.) | 439,020 | 3,498,990 | 314,100 | 2,650,547 | + 124,92 |

It is clear that the Coal-Cattle Pact came just in time stop a still further drop in our cattle exports. Both in numbe and value the exports for the first two months of 1935 we lower than for the same two months in 1934. In Marc however, the Pact was having its effect, and the number exports jumped to 23,500 above that of March 1934. B its full effect was not seen till the second half of the year, the export of both fat and store cattle normally rises to peak between August and October.

Saorstát Eireann met the special import duties put b England on her cattle by granting bounties on the expo of live cattle. Those farmers who were paying annuiti thus could meet the fall in cattle prices more easily than thos who, owning their land out-right, gained nothing from th halving of the annuities. In the first place a considerabl amount of arrears was funded—this being equivalent to capital loan by the State to those farmers at a reasonabl rate of interest ; then the half-yearly annuity was halved and finally, from October 1932 a bounty of 12½ per cen *ad valorem* was paid on cattle exported to England. In th year 1932-1933 £482,428 was paid in bounties on cattle alone In May, 1933, the bounty was changed (to meet a change i the English duty) to 35s. per head for two-year-olds and over and in the year 1933-1934 £729,181 was paid in bounties.

When we turn to consider the history of the export of re cattle" [1] during these ten years 1924-1933, we find ry similar tendency due to the same causes and met by same measures. Leaving out that abnormal year 1924, exports of store cattle tended to fall, steeply enough, from to 1927, both in number and in value. In 1928 and 1929 e was, however, a definite recovery, and a peak-year was hed in 1930, with an export of 425,000 head (£6,524,000). peak-year for fat cattle, it will be remembered, was 1929; unlike the stores, the exports of fat cattle had risen dily from 1925. From 1930 on, however, there was a dy and steep fall, in numbers and value, in the exports of e cattle—reaching in 1933 the low figure of 273,000 661,000), then rising in number but falling in value.

TABLE XIII

Exports of Store Cattle in 1930 and 1934

| Year | No. | Value | Average Price |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | £ | £ s. d. |
| 1930 ... ... | 425,000 | 6,524,000 | 15 6 8 |
| *1933* ... ... | *273,000* | *2,661,000* | *9 3 0* |
| 1934 ... ... | 299,000 | 2,171,000 | 7 4 0 |
| Fall in 4 years ... | 126,000 | 4,353,000 | 8 2 8 |

Once more it is important to note that this fall in numbers l value of exports of store cattle began in 1930—a year er than the beginning of the fall in fat cattle, but long before re was any question of English import duties against Irish tle. The first "step" in this fall (1930-1931) was a sudden p of 58,000 (£988,000); the next "step" (1931-1932) s much less in number, 45,000, but greater in value 448,000—the English duties being in force for the last e months of 1932. The fall in 1933 was 49,000 (£1,427,000): s year was the lowest year as regards number. The follow- year, 1934, saw a small increase in the number of stores

[1] It is estimated that nine-tenths by value of cattle exports are fat and store cattle; tenth only being milch cows, calves, etc. In 1934 the proportion was eight-tenths.

exported, due to the operation of the English quota syste which restricted the export of fat cattle, but was more favou able to "stores." The number increased, but the valu continued to fall heavily.

The first few months of 1935 showed a decided improvemer in the numbers of store-cattle exported, due to the Coal-Catt Pact. In July a further fillip was given to this branch of th trade by the suspension of the quota by England.

TABLE XIV

Exports of Store Cattle in 1935 and 1934

| Month | 1935 | | 1934 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Value | No. | Value |
| | | £ | | £ |
| January ... | 23,533 | 163,429 | 27,400 | 218,684 |
| February ... | 24,654 | 166,509 | 25,777 | 194,128 |
| March ... | 49,976 | 335,309 | 29,387 | 221,516 |
| April ... | 43,769 | 295,208 | 24,399 | 180,824 |
| May ... | 32,373 | 220,985 | 23,324 | 173,698 |
| June ... | 23,882 | 158,605 | 15,785 | 113,275 |
| July ... | 32,208 | 219,358 | 6,912 | 50,686 |
| August ... | 14,705 | 100,624 | 8,226 | 59,315 |
| September | 37,632 | 262,772 | 16,674 | 119,354 |

The anxiety of the English and Scotch fatteners to secure Irish "stores," which led to the suspension of the quota in July 1935, is a significant fact on which Irish farmers ought to ponder. With a "beef subsidy" operating in England it may well happen that the English import duties on Irish "stores" will prove a boomerang, and the ludicrous situation arises of English cattle-buyers paying the duty to their Government only to receive it back as a subsidy. In other words the English beef subsidy has begun to act as a factor encouraging the import of Irish cattle into England. The English Government are paying their own citizens to import Irish cattle on which they collect a duty. It remains to be seen (*a*) whether the duty collected will equal the subsidy paid on the animals imported, and (*b*) who eventually will pay the import duty—the Irish farmer or the English fattener? "An old tax is no tax" is a not altogether false adage. In

at Britain there are only 7,000,000 cattle, 16 per 100 of population (1930): in the Saorstát alone in the same year re were 4,000,000, 137 per 100 of population. Great tain must continue to import huge quantities of live cattle t of meat for decades to come: in 26 weeks (December 4 to May 1935) she imported 2,500,000 quarters of beef n Argentine and Uruguay alone—say, 80,000 or more d of cattle in six months. The Irish farmers, if they had united organised marketing method, are in no unfavourable bargaining position in normal times.

In order to appreciate in its true light the fall in the value d to some degree, in the number) of fat and store cattle orted since 1929, a few facts concerning prices are useful. e first of these facts is the trend of prices for best quality f ("Scotch short sides") at the London market. In the mmer of 1928, this was 117s. 5d. per 112 lbs.; in the spring 1935 it had fallen to 72s. 11d. per 112 lbs.—a drop of s. 6d. per 112 lbs. This fall in prices of meat in London ok place slowly as seen in the following Table:—

TABLE XV

Price per 112 lbs. at London of Scotch Beef

| Year | Spring | Summer | Autumn | Winter | Average Annual |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. | s. d. |
| 8 ... ... | 97 1 | 117 5 | 108 7 | 99 1 | 105 6 |
| 9 ... ... | 95 4 | 98 0 | 96 5 | 99 11 | 97 5 |
| 0 ... ... | 99 5 | 98 11 | 99 1 | 95 8 | 97 9 |
| 1 ... ... | 92 0 | 103 5 | 96 11 | 96 11 | 97 4 |
| 2 ... ... | 89 9 | 84 9 | 87 9 | 86 2 | 89 6 |
| 3 ... ... | 81 8 | 82 7 | 78 7 | 78 9 | 80 5 |
| 4 ... ... | 76 8 | 84 11 | 82 3 | 76 8 | 80 1 |
| 5 ... ... | 72 11 | | | | |

It will be noticed that in the autumn of 1931 there began fall which was to go on steadily to the present time: in mmer 1931 the price was 103s. 5d. per 112 lbs.; in spring 35, it fell with only seasonal recoveries to 72s. 11d. Initably this had its effect on the price of Irish cattle. The lowing Table gives the prices of Irish cattle at Fairs and arkets in Saorstát Eireann from 1931 to 1935:—

## Table XVI

### Fat Cattle (Three Year Old)

| | Spring | Summer | Autumn | Winter |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| 1931 ... | 19 6 3 | 19 9 6 | 18 13 6 | 17 19 6 |
| 1932 ... | 18 6 9 | 19 0 0 | 15 7 6 | 13 9 9 |
| 1933 ... | 13 19 3 | 12 12 0 | 11 3 6 | 11 11 9 |
| 1934 ... | 10 6 0 | 10 5 6 | 9 9 3 | 9 8 9 |
| 1935 ... | 9 14 0 | | | |

### Stores (Three Year Old)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1931 ... | 16 6 9 | 16 3 9 | 16 12 9 | 15 12 9 |
| 1932 ... | 15 10 0 | 15 3 9 | 13 15 3 | 11 13 6 |
| 1933 ... | 11 15 6 | 10 11 0 | 9 16 9 | 9 17 3 |
| 1934 ... | 8 11 3 | 7 10 3 | 8 7 9 | 7 14 6 |
| 1935 ... | 7 10 0 | | | |

## Table XVII

### Yearly Average Prices for Irish Cattle of Various Types

| Year | Fat | | Stores | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2—3 years. | 3 years and over. | 1—2 years. | 2—3 years. | 3 and over. |
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| 1928 ... ... | 18 9 6 | 20 18 3 | 11 11 0 | 15 3 6 | 17 9 9 |
| 1929 ... ... | 18 8 9 | 20 17 6 | 11 11 3 | 15 4 6 | 17 7 9 |
| 1930 ... ... | 18 11 6 | 20 17 3 | 12 3 6 | 15 12 9 | 17 14 9 |
| 1931 ... ... | 16 19 3 | 18 14 9 | 11 18 3 | 14 7 6 | 16 2 6 |
| 1932 ... ... | 14 15 0 | 16 0 9 | 9 17 0 | 12 13 9 | 14 5 0 |
| 1933 ... ... | 10 13 6 | 12 4 3 | 7 1 3 | 9 0 9 | 10 13 3 |
| 1934 ... ... | 8 8 0 | 9 15 3 | 5 6 6 | 6 16 6 | 7 19 3 |
| ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 1935 (1st quarter) | 8 15 0 | 9 14 0 | 4 17 6 | 6 7 3 | 7 10 0 |

Once more it will be noticed that the fall in prices began e definitely in 1931 : the year 1930 being a peak-year, ng a rise and beginning a fall. The relations between the don meat prices and the Irish market prices for cattle instructive. In 1932 the average price of best quality fell in London by 7s. 10d. per 112 lbs. ; in the same the average price of a fat 3 year old fell by £2 14s. ; in 3 the price of beef fell by 9s. 1d. per 112 lbs., and of cattle ear old, fat) by £3 16s. 6d. ; in 1934 the price of beef by 4d. per 112 lbs., and of cattle by £2 9s. (this last year he " quota " year, which made it exceptional). From se figures it is possible to form some estimate of the relative ortance of (*a*) the general fall in prices for meat in England (*b*) the special import duties on Irish cattle, in causing the in prices for Irish cattle. It is certain that a fall of 5s. per . for the best meat would, of itself alone, account for a of at least £1 per head for fat cattle. Hence the fall of London prices must have accounted for a considerable portion of the fall in the prices of Irish cattle.

## Table XVIII

ces of Three Year Old Fat Cattle in Ireland; and of Meat in Dublin and London per cwt. dead

| | 1930 | 1931 | 1932 | 1933 | 1934 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| per head | £ s. d.<br>20 17 3 | £ s. d.<br>18 14 9 | £ s. d.<br>16 0 9 | £ s. d.<br>12 4 3 | £ s. d.<br>9 15 3 |
| lin price per ad cwt. ... | 3 18 3 | 3 9 3 | 3 0 0 | 2 4 3 | 1 18 0 |
| lon price ... | 4 17 9 | 4 17 4 | 4 9 6 | 4 0 5 | 4 0 1 |

It will be useful, also, to give here the prices of (*a*) beef and store cattle for a certain number of years before 1914, in er that some standard of comparison may be had. From 1 the price of beef (dead weight) at the Dublin market ained steady up to 1914, but with a slight tendency to . The same is true of store cattle. For nearly twenty-five

years beef was sold at Dublin (1891-1914) at between 52s. 1
and 60s. per cwt.; while store cattle (3 year old) mov
between £10 6s. 8d. and £13 per head. From 1914 to 19
prices for both beef and stores were greatly affected by w
and post-war conditions—beef touching 158s. 6d. per cw
and stores £35 2s. 9d. in 1920. The fall in prices whi
began in 1920 has continued unbrokenly to the present ye
but 1925 really saw the end of the immediate and direct effe
of the war period. The following Table enables a comparis
to be made between pre-war, war, and post-war prices.

## Table XIX

Prices of Beef and Stores in Dublin for Five-Year Perio

| Five Year Periods | Beef: per cwt. | Stores 1—2 years | Stores 2—3 years | Stores 3 years | Springers |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. |
| 1891–1895 ... | 2 13 4 | 5 10 8 | 8 11 9 | 10 18 9 | 12 14 1 |
| 1896–1900 ... | 2 13 7 | 6 8 3 | 9 0 9 | 11 6 9 | 12 16 |
| 1901–1905 ... | 2 15 6 | 6 18 7 | 9 14 0 | 12 11 3 | 13 10 |
| 1906–1910 ... | 2 16 7 | 7 7 6 | 10 2 4 | 12 14 3 | 14 2 |
| | | War and | Post-War | | |
| 1914–1918 ... | 5 0 3 | 12 13 9 | 17 13 9 | 21 11 3 | 23 15 |
| 1919–1923 ... | 6 0 0 | 15 7 6 | 22 2 6 | 27 8 6 | 29 14 |
| 1924–1928 ... | 4 1 9 | 11 18 9 | 15 12 0 | 17 16 3 | 20 14 |
| 1928–1932 ... | 3 13 0 | 11 5 9 | £15 1 3 | | 19 0 |
| *1934* ... ... | 1 18 0 | 5 6 6 | 6 16 6 | 7 19 3 | 10 12 |

Two final Tables are necessary to enable a not gross
inadequate picture of the cattle trade to be formed: (1) t
Annual Agricultural Price Index Numbers; (2) the Ind
Numbers of certain farm raw materials—feeding-stuffs, e
For the first, the base is taken as 100 for the period 1911-19
hence it can be seen at a glance whether and when pric
*received* by the farmer are higher or lower than pre-war pric

TABLE XX

Agricultural Price Index Numbers : (Saorstát)

(Base 1911-13 = 100)

| Year | Live Stock | Live Stock Produce | Crops | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1922 ... | 164·4 | 160·8 | 145·5 | 160·0 |
| 1923 ... | 147·8 | 143·8 | 134·7 | 144·3 |
| 1924 ... | 146·3 | 163·8 | 195·1 | 160·0 |
| 1925 ... | 157·4 | 163·6 | 149·2 | 157·8 |
| 1926 ... | 147·3 | 137·8 | 122·8 | 140·2 |
| 1927 ... | 129·1 | 139·0 | 128·3 | 131·9 |
| 1928 ... | 134·2 | 143·7 | 135·2 | 137·1 |
| 1929 ... | 139·4 | 144·0 | 124·1 | 139·3 |
| 1930 ... | 136·0 | 111·5 | 107·8 | 124·8 |
| 1931 ... | 113·7 | 103·3 | 118·5 | 110·1 |
| 1932 ... | 97·2 | 97·5 | 116·9 | 98·2 |
| 1933 ... | 79·7 | 90·5 | 89·8 | 83·5 |
| 1934 ... | 66·9 | 90·0 | 92·5 | 83·6 |

From this Table it will be seen (*a*) that the serious fall in prices of live stock began in 1931, the year of the English is, and has continued unchecked up to 1934; (*b*) that the fall prices of live stock produce (milk, butter, etc.) began with enormous drop in 1929-30, but seems to have been checked 1934 ; (*c*) that the fall in crop prices did not become serious 1933, and seems to have been checked at once.

TABLE XXI

Price Index Number of Farm Materials at Retail in Saorstát Eireann : Base 1930 = 100

| Year | Feeding Stuffs | Fertilisers | Seeds | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1926 ... | 117·6 | 113·5 | 94·7 | 115·1 |
| 1927 ... | 115·0 | 108·7 | 115·4 | 114·0 |
| 1928 ... | 131·4 | 97·4 | 103·0 | 123·6 |
| 1929 ... | 127·6 | 100·2 | 91·0 | 120·2 |
| 1930 ... | 100·0 | 100·0 | 100·0 | 100·0 |
| 1931 ... | 78·7 | 94·3 | 80·3 | 81·3 |
| 1932 ... | 80·2 | 84·9 | 83·1 | 81·2 |
| 1933 ... | 76·1 | 89·6 | 72·1 | 77·9 |
| 1934 ... | 83·5 | 90·2 | 89·4 | 85·0 |

From the point of view of cost of living, we are still con-erably worse off than in 1914—the index figure for May 35 being 151, compared with 100 in July 1914.

E. J. COYNE

# SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

## XXXVI

## THE BODY MUST BE SUBDUED

Ó Leṅḋáin cc.

1. Miċiḋ ḋo ċuiḃṙeaċ a ċuiṙṙ
a ṗéiṙḋ gan ṗéagain ḋ'iaṙmuiṙt
ḋo gaḃ tú neaṙt guṙ a-nioġ
a ċṙú ní ceaṙt ḋo ċaiṫeaṁ.

2. Maiṙġ ċleaċtaṙ ḋo ċumuṙ ṗéin
ḋo leiġin ḋuit a ḋṙoiċṁéin
a ċolann ċṁaḋ a ċeann tṙom
iṙ ṗeaṙṙ ḋo ċiall leḋ ċṙaṗall.

3. Tiaġaṙnaṙ ḋuit ní ḋliġiṙ
a ċolann ċṁaḋ ċuiḋṁiġiḋ
ḃeiṫ iḋ ṁoġaiġ ḃa ḋú ḋuiḋ
gé tú i gcoṁaiṙ ḋo ċoṁṙuiġ.

4. A ċuiṙṙ gan ṗeaċt gan ṁaġail
a ṁinṁianaiġ ṁóiṙṁianaiġ
ḋo ċuṙ i nḋaoiṙe ḋliġe
ṗa aoine iṙ ṗa aiṫṙiġe.

5. Cuiṙiḋ aonlá aoine oṙṫ
teaṙc a ċolann ḋo ċoṁolc
a ṗeaṫa ṁianaiġ muice
meaṫṫa an iaṙṙaiḋ ṗoċṙuice.

6. Ní háil leaṫ ó ḋuḃ go ḋuḃ
aċḋ caiṫeaṁ aguṙ coḋlaḋ
tṙoiḋ gan cúiṙ aguṙ ceanglaḋ
iṙ ḋṙúiṙ aguṙ ḋṙoiċṙeaḃṙaḋ.

7. Sgáṫán ḃṙéagaċ [ḋo-ḃeiṙiṙ]
ċuġaḋ a ċuiṙṙ ċuiḋṁiḋiġ
ḃíḋ aiṫ le ḋiaḃal ḋo ḋán
guḋ ṙgiaṁaḋ aṙ ḋo ṙgáṫán.

8. Dá bfeadca féin map taoi tall
a [tfuagán] cpiad a coiann
ní [. . . .] duine acd a dat
[ní fuil] ann uile acd otpac.

9. Otpac t'ón agup t'éadac
otpac do buap bláicbpéagac
dap leat ip buaine an bpéag [feapb]
ní fmuaine éag ná ifeapn

10. Sgítead mé díot a domain
a léimeannaig [luattolaig]
a domain cealgaig clearaig
pet feapgaib pet impearain.

11. Led galpaib agup led goil
iomda do cpeac 'p do cogaid
doiliġ a meadlaiġ meangaiġ
leanmain dod léimeannaib.

12. Cuipid tú cád ceann i gceann
a faogail ip olc t'inneall
doiliġ fíoc do bpéag go brád
an t-éag ap cfíoc dod conác.

13. Ifeapnn ap éip an éaga
liopda do luac coimédad
taob péd gpád ip meadpad mear
[eapnad] do dál fa deifead.

14. Do conác . . . . mór
téid fa deifead ap dobpón
an fear féin linġear [ón fleid]
cinnear a céim don Coimdid.

15. Tfear ap uabap opd gac fíoġ
adaid eile fe himfnióm
fealad fe maoidfeam cleap cáic
tfear ap caoinead an conáiġ

16. Ó tá a fíop agup uile
clearaidfeact an cealgaipe
gpád dá fleadaib gid lúd lib
cúl fe meadail ip midid. Midid

17. Ní mionann [é] ir Mac Muire
tigearna na trócaire
le Mac Muire neam a-nor
ní bean do duine a dúdcar.

18. Tar éir a gona don ga
obad an daill ní dearna
grád don doll ag Mac Muire
ba prap trom an trócaire.

19. Tabraid uile dá bar n-óid
fiot bar gcionad i gcéadóir
ní obann fí nime a-niog
gac cride ad-cí go gcreidiom.

20. Go gcreidiom do Chriord na gclann
fiot na flatha go bragam
go ngaba an fí ar fiot mar rin
gurab í crioc ar gcreidim.

21. Diaid dá gabáil ceann i gceann
noca luigaide an léigeann
ir dí bu dóig dul ar neam
[rgur] nocar cóir do caiteam.

22. Tiocfa d'agra na hanma
teangta loma laramna
ó tiocfar tóir garb dá guin
ní cóir gan arm gun anmuin.

23. Ionmuille fa Mac Muire
ir í ciall gac criorduide
noca [n-aca] ó cride ceall
mire [aca] fan Airreann.

24. Diabal nac deacaid ar neam
ar tí carad an Coimdead
do-ní a guide go gréarac
ó 'd-cí duine deigbéarac.

25. A-tá peacac i mbroid runn
ag éigeam ort a anam
déana ar rós dar ruide ar nim
a Muire mór ir micid. Micid

## Translation

s time now to bind thee without regard for consequences, O body thou beast;
thou hast waxed strong till now; O wretch 'tis not right to consort with (?) thee.
)e to him who lets thee exert thy power, O evil passion; O earthy body, O sluggish
(?) head, better were thy sense wert thou fettered.
ou hast no right to power (over me), O body so insolent; thou shouldst rather
be my slave—though I have to fight thee.
body unruly and lawless, full of passions great and petty, thou must be reduced to
slavery by fasting and penance.
single day's fast afflicts thee; thou art unsurpassed for evil; O wicked little pig,
'tis pitiful in thee to look for any reward.
day thy delight is food and sleep, fighting without cause and never making peace,
lust and evil rivalry.
arrogant body, thy lying mirror is taken up by thee; the Devil loves thy art, thy
adorning of thyself before thy mirror.
wretched body of clay, if thou reflectest on what thou really art . . . except its
colour; it is all filth.
lth is thy gold and clothes, thy fair-seeming wealth of cattle; thou takest bitter
unreality to be substance; thou thinkest not of Hell and death.
m weary of thee, O world, crafty and tricky, impetuous and changeful, as I contend
with thy fits of anger and quarrelling.
ith all thy diseases and temper constant is thy robbing and warring; hard it is to
follow thy whims, O wretch full of deceit and guile.
ou buriest all men, O world; evil is thy security; 'tis hard to be at peace with
thy everlasting deceits; death is the end of thy wealth.
e reward of thy service is wearisome, and then Hell comes after death; to
rely on thy love is mad folly; chains are thy fate in the end.
y wealth . . . . the man who leaps away in fright from the banquet of life and bends
his steps to the Lord. (?)
ven a king's majesty is but a spell of pride, a time of anxiety, a time spent in boasting
of having tricked his neighbour, a time of bewailing loss of wealth.
nce you all know the wiles of this trickster, eager as you are for indulgence in his
banquets, 'tis time to turn away from his deceits.
ow different is he from Mary's Son, Lord of mercy! He robs not man of his in-
heritance, Heaven with Mary's Son.
hen wounded by the lance Mary's Son rejected not the Dall; sudden and plenteous
was that merciful act of His, His love for the Dall.
ttend quickly to winning pardon for thy sins; Heaven's King rejects not the heart
which He sees to be trustful.
et us trust in Christ, Lord of all races; let us seek pardon from the Lord; may He
thus be at peace with us; may this be the fruit of our trust.
isdom (thus) will be gradually acquired and be none the less (?); by it one may
hope to go to Heaven; we should never falter (?).
ierce flaming tongues will come to accuse the soul; since a fierce band will come to
attack her, she must be armed.
slight to Mary's Son is distractedness at Mass; every Christian feels this; such a
man has not seriously thought of the grave.
hen the Devil sees a good man who has not yet gone to dwell in Heaven among
God's friends, he keeps constantly importuning him.
ehold me here in stress a sinner beseeching thee, O Mary my love; establish me
in joy in Heaven; 'tis now full time.

## Notes

S.: H. 3 19 f. 28. Readings departed from are given below). No author's name
en.
*d Leg.* caıoɲeaƀ ? 2 *c Leg.* cɲom ?; *d* ɲeo ċɲ. 3 *a* ȯlıo ı (overlined)
oȯuıʒ 7 *a* oo ƀeıɯȯ 8 *b* a ṫuaċtoán c ƀıȯ oon *d* níl; "ɸéaċ
n after stanza, *cd* being unmetrical. 10 *b* luaṫtoɲɲaıʒ *d* ɲéo . . . . ɲéo
éo; ɲéo ʒaɲƀʒoıl *b* ıomaɔ 13 *d* eaɲóuƀ 14 *a lacuna* in MS.
ɛleıʒ *d* coımȯeaʒ; meaning obscure. 16 *c* ɸleaʒaıƀ; lúʒ 17 *a* tú
MS. 19 *a* ɔaƀɲaȯ *b* ʂcıonaıȯ 21 *a* bıaıo oo ʒaƀ- *d* ɾʒ
ined); oá c. 23 *c* noċa nɾaʒa; *d* aʒa; "ɸéaċ" written after stanza.
lation uncertain.

# REVIEWS

## The Church

*L'EGLISE ET SON GOUVERNEMENT.* Par Yves de la Br
Paris : Grasset. 1935. 15 fr.

*THE GENIUS OF THE VATICAN.* By Robert Sencourt. Lond
Cape. 1935. 10s. 6d.

*THE VATICAN, YESTERDAY, TO-DAY AND TO-MORR*
By George Seldes. London : Kegan Paul. 1934. 15s.

*DIE KIRCHE UNSERES GLAUBENS.* Von Ludwig Kösters,
Freiburg : Herder. 1935. 6 m.

THE first of these publications is a modest little volume of the n practical kind. It sets out for Catholics and inquiring non-Catho the constitution of the Church, its instruments of government, various Congregations and their functions, the relations of the Chu with the secular States in which children of the Church are found, meaning of Canon Law, the history of the present Code, the function of Papal courts legations, nunciatures—in a word nearly everyth the curious can wish to know about the operation of the complica mechanism by which the Head of Christendom rules his spirit kingdom of over 300,000,000 souls. To this is added a chapter the Vatican State so recently reborn. The last three chapters d with the episcopate, its dignity, its powers—in the separate dioce and as a corporate body. A brief account of the Ecumenical Counc from Nicaea in 325 to Vatican in 1870, rounds off a little book wh might be described as a Baedeker to the whole institution known the Papacy. It simply cannot be too highly commended. No libr should be without it. And if only journalists and publicists with the fold would invest 15 francs in this authoritative and interesti narrative they would avoid the booby traps into which so many them fall when they begin to write about the Rome of the Popes

If Père de la Brière has given us a Baedeker to the Vatican of to-da Mr. Sencourt offers us a handbook to the Papacy in history, an epito of its long career, so full of vicissitudes, so central in the story of c civilisation, so replete with triumph and disaster—beyond all questi the most remarkable phenomenon in the records of mankind. H work has been very adversely criticised by Mr. Edward Shanks in t *Sunday Times* (May 26, 1935). The criticism is a little perver The author is blamed for not doing what he never set out to do. H aim is clear and clearly expressed in the Preface : " This is a laymar book for laymen." He will give us a sympathetic but non-partis outline of the origin, growth, principal achievements—religiou cultural, historical—of the most arresting social institution know to men. As this is accomplished in 289 pages of writing, obvious only the simplest ground-plan of so vast a structure was possible. B

l the design, the accomplishment is much more successful than anks will allow. As an impressionist sketch it commends itself sustained interest, its selection of significant incidents, eras, alities, its balanced judgment and catholic (as distinct from c) sympathy.

ı cannot tell from internal evidence whether the writer is a ic or not ; but he has imagination enough to recognise the scale agnificence of the part played by the Popes, their manifold ies, their complex problems, their successes and their failures. n for educated and cultured laymen—particularly, I take it, ı-Catholics—the book answers its purpose quite admirably ; and inical to fix upon questions of detail or aesthetic judgment or ed interpretations as a reason for depreciating what is, retends to be, nothing but a *vue d'ensemble* of a story so vast is nearly coincident with world history.

. Seldes's volume is ampler and more ambitious than the two ealt with. The notice on the jacket is temperate and accurate : pletely free from propagandist leanings, scholarly and im- ly readable, this important book gives a frank account of the ın and of the inside working of the Catholic Church from the of St. Peter to the reigning pontiff. We learn of the election of ; of the intimate details of Vatican life ; of Vatican finances ; Rota and annulment of marriages ; of the Index of prohibited . We are told of the Vatican's relations to Fascism in Italy, nal Socialism in Germany, anti-clericalism in France." We ıave a very interesting account of the Papal attitude towards ericanism," the Great War, social and moral reconstruction the war, the reunion of Christendom, and not a few other topics. ere again the impartiality of tone makes it impossible to " place " uthors (for the historical chapters are taken from *Le Vatican et mde Moderne*, by Geo. London and Ch. Pichon). There is no ıce of taking sides, though the sympathy shown to the Papal ce of human liberty against Fascism and Hitlerism leaves little as to what the authors feel on that issue at least. But in general evident that strict objectivity has been aimed at and attained. contains 409 pages of closely printed narrative, it is seen at once a much more comprehensive survey than Mr. Sencourt's. With- ubscribing to all the views expressed—I noticed a few inaccuracies nor moment as well as some misprints—one can safely commend the general reader seeking a reliable orientation towards the cy in the past and in the present. And from the more or less taneous appearance of these three volumes we may conclude that outside the Church many to-day really desire such orientation. ave travelled far from the attitude of Gladstone's *Vaticanism*.

The fourth volume is very different from the preceding three is an attempt to offer the layman who can read German—whether be Catholic or non-Catholic—a *résumé* of the whole course of Apolo of which Pater Kösters is an acknowledged master. He accomp this task in 160 pages, from which one can see how packed and densed these must be. For the help of readers who wish to stud subject more deeply he gives a bibliography of six and a half p with 70 pages more devoted to references and enlargements. here especially that we get the measure of his own ripe schola A very full table of contents completes the work. No one will que the laudable nature of Pater Kösters's undertaking. Probably is no single subject that cries aloud for solid and scientific treatr in language that all can understand, more than the one he has ch Of manuals on Fundamental Theology for theological students is no dearth ; and several magisterial Lives of Christ—the heart core of Christian Apologetics—have recently appeared. But an u date, objective and tolerably complete restatement of the groun our faith is one of the major necessities of the Church to-day. needed for the faithful themselves ; more needed still for the bewildered and agonizing world of heresy and unbelief, which, chast now by disaster and the foreboding of worse things, is seeking anxi for some solid foothold. Christianity alone can give this.

Hence the purpose of our author meets with instant appr Further, he is eminently qualified for the task. Yet it would be la in sincerity to say that the result is quite commensurate with expectations. All that Pater Kösters gives us is admirable and be extremely helpful. But he has not solved the difficult proble method. It was impossible to attain completeness in 160 p however small the scale of the plan. Also the author has h envisaged with sufficient insight the mental climate of our time. has not sought to dissipate the fog of prejudice, misunderstanding false philosophy which lies between our contemporaries and the threshold of the faith. He supposes too much at the start, an the course of his demonstration he curtails his appeal to the mir of Christ surprisingly. Even the Resurrection is despatche twenty lines of his text, though he develops, and very effectively argument from Lourdes and other recent miracles. The result is where we expected to find at least a complete framework we meet o partial exposition—excellent as far as it goes and based upon a critical and accurate scholarship, yet leaving somehow a sense of appointment, which is all the deeper because one feels right through the author could have given us just the book the world needs. B we must still wait for the ideal presentation of the claims of Christi upon the allegiance of men's minds, the present work can be w

ly commended as giving certain features of the argumentation f, convincing, scientific form, without undue technicalities or tic subtleties and with the authority of a teacher long familiar very aspect of the great debate and thoroughly versed in all the re of the subject. P. J. GANNON

*STORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.* By the Rev. rnand Mourret, S.S. Translated by the Rev. Newton Thompn, S.T.D. Vol. II: *Period of the Church Fathers.* London: . Herder. 1935. 21s.

*STORY OF THE CHURCH.* By Philip Hughes. Vol. II: *ugustine to Aquinas.* London: Sheed and Ward. 1935. 15s. et.

irst of these two books is part of a vast and stately history, of the translation is appearing with curious irregularity; volume not seem to have been translated as yet, whereas later volumes It is a pity that the publisher does not give any indication as progress to date of the work. The subject of this instalment course of unequalled interest, covering as it does the greatest tic period, and dealing not only with the heresies which shook ewly-emancipated Church so severely, but also with the very tant developments in ritual and liturgy which marked the period Augustine, St. Basil, and St. John Chrysostom. The book has ry strong pretensions to being up to the latest conclusions of rship; a slight example is the date of the battle of Adrianople, is now certainly known to be 324 and not 323. A more serious s the absence of all reference to the very important recent dis- ies regarding Manichaeism. The bibliography, though full and actory as far as it goes, is marked by many surprising omissions, he numerous quotations of Greek words and phrases are erratically ed. There are some attempts to render hymns—an example e of St. Ephrem on p. 222—into verse, which are not exactly ssful.

ut these are slight specks on a spacious canvas. The work as a e is really valuable, especially for the reader who is interested in ir and reliable treatment of controversies and developments. cularly useful are the full accounts of the lives and writings of the ers and of liturgical practices in the period. The numerous lengthy ations from recognised authorities add greatly to the interest of a work as this is.

ather Hughes' book is of another character altogether. As the d part of a work planned to cover the whole history of the Church ree volumes, its method must of course be summary. Yet it is rkable what solid scholarship Father Hughes has packed into

his vivid pages. His bibliography, while only a selection, is an exc one made by a master ; an instance is the admirable not Manichaeism on p. 494 ; another the list of works on St. Pa though here we regret the omission of Müller's Göttingen paper ( and the misspelling of Dr. MacNeill's name. The author's judg is always sound and often original. His remarks on the ecor revolution of the fourth century, for example, or on the reason fo success of Latin studies in early Christian Ireland, while b expressed, have value even for secular historians. Now and a the English shows traces of haste which may be removed on revi and perhaps the singularly severe judgment on Constantine V (p. might be modified.

The really valuable aspect of the book is the sustained vigour freshness of its writing. The author has a gift for rapid and stri characterisation, which fills his book with memorable portraits fine instance is his treatment of Charlemagne, another his whole cha on Gregory the Great. A similar gift is that for clear summarisa of controversies and movements of thought ; thus it would be diff to better in an equal space his account of the coming of Arabian p sophy and its impact on the West in the twelfth century. A histo of real balance and objectivity, Father Hughes lets us see the side of the dark ages as well as their positive achievement, and sh the defects of St. Augustine's wonderful system of thought, whic took so long to set aside. The limits of the work are well chosen, we look forward to its completion which will undoubtedly give us best brief and popular Church History in English. M.

## Spirituality: Carmelite, Dominican, Jesuit

*THE COMPLETE WORKS OF ST. JOHN OF THE CR*

Translated from the critical edition of P. Silverio, C.D. (Burgos 1 31) and edited by Professor E. Allison Peers. Vol. III. viii + 470. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1 15s.

This third and final volume of Professor Peers's translation cont the *Living Flame of Love*, minor prose works (of which the most not is the *Cautions*), letters and documents written or issued by the sa and two very interesting appendices. The first of these cont contemporary narratives of events in St. John's life ; the other, co ing some fifty pages, is the report made in 1622 to the Spanish quisition on the orthodoxy of the saint's writings by Father P de Leon, O.S.A., holder of the Chair of Prima in Salamanca.

The *Living Flame* is the highest peak of St. John's mystical doctr In the stanzas expounded in the *Spiritual Canticle*, he tells us, "

of the most perfect degree of perfection to which a man may in this life, which is transformation in God ; nevertheless these ıs " [the four explained in the *Living Flame*] " treat of a love is even more complete and perfected within this same state nsformation." We ought not to marvel, he says, that God should r such high and rare favours on souls : " For God said that the r and the Son and the Holy Spirit would come to him that loved and make their abode in him, and this would come to pass by His ıg him live and dwell in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, e life of God, as the soul explains in these stanzas." Thus, in Prologue, does the saint take us back to the fountain-head of tian mysticism, our Lord's discourse at the Last Supper. The e work breathes the atmosphere of that discourse and of the great er with which it ends. Whether by accident or design, the con- ng paragraph, in which the reader feels that the theme has risen e the powers even of St. John of the Cross, is almost a paraphrase ur Lord's concluding words : " That the Love wherewith thou loved me may be in them, and I in them."

Yet the *Living Flame*, for all its loftiness, is, with the *Ascent of nt Carmel*, the one of St. John's works that souls in all stages ıe spiritual life find most useful. This is largely on account of the digression near the end, in the commentary on stanza III. Moved he distress of the contemplative soul misled by three blind guides, mely, the spiritual director, the devil, and its own self," he points the errors into which each of these three may lead it, and goes on ndicate with a sure hand its true line of progress when rightly cted in the way of prayer. There are few souls, among those who e given themselves to the service of God, who have not some tinc- of contemplation ; who have not felt at times and moments ener perhaps than they themselves suspect) those " delicate tions " of which he speaks, the attraction " to walk with loving reness of God, without performing specific acts, . . . . having no gence of their own, but possessing this simple, pure, and loving reness, as one that opens his eyes with the awareness of love." y soul that has felt that influence, even in a slight degree, will under- ıd, in proportion to its experience, the doctrine of this long and cious digression ; and the contact so made with the mind of the ıt will make the rest of the work more intelligible. Be that as it y, it is certain that the average spiritually-minded reader finds *Living Flame* easier and more helpful than the *Canticle*.

There are two recensions extant of the *Living Flame*. The first s written in a fortnight, the outpouring of a soul on fire. In the ond and somewhat longer one we see the scholastic theologian

regaining control, dotting the i's and crossing the t's of the myst poet. On that account M. Jean Baruzi has thrown doubt on authenticity of the second recension; without any solid reason, the two personalities appear in nearly everything the saint wr In the present edition both recensions are very properly given.

In the *Cautions*, in the Spiritual Sentences and Maxims—th latter constantly recall A'Kempis, not so much by the ideas or wo as by the accent and atmosphere—and in the all too few letters direction that have survived, it is the ascetical rather than the mysti teaching of the saint that is in evidence. He goes into detail ab the trials and temptations that beset the religious life, and the mea of dealing with them. Anyone familiar with the ideas of St. Ignat Loyola can hardly fail to be struck by the fundamental affinity, alm identity, of the teaching of the two in this respect. There is the sa insistence on universal self-abnegation, especially the abnegation what is highest and most spiritual in man, not for its destruction b for its rebuilding in God; the losing of one's life to find it again Him. And for both these saints, men of essentially simple mind w had cleared their eyes of the illusions of the world, human hearts a the springs of human conduct held no secrets. It is not surprising th St. Teresa should have joked her beloved Father John of the Cr on being so much of a Jesuit.

The sixty odd pages of the first appendix, personal reminiscenc of the saint written down from twenty to fifty years after his deat by friars and nuns who had known him, make fascinating readi Not only do they give us vivid glimpses of him among those whom knew and loved best, but they convey a charming picture, all the mo charming for being plainly unintended, of the artless simplicity a holy peace of those early Carmels, at a time of great stress and pe for their institute. The other appendix, Father Ponce de Leo report, raises questions too large to be dealt with here. It is worthy attentive perusal, and is full of suggestion. The translation has th best quality of translations, of passing unnoticed: one feels ones throughout in immediate contact with the original. There are fo indices, and the volume, like its predecessors, is splendidly turn out.

M. F. E.

*JESUIT SPIRITUALITY. Leading Ideas in the Spiritual Exercis of St. Ignatius.* By Rev. H. V. Gill, S.J. Dublin: M. H. Gi 1935. Pp. 134. 3s. 6d.

*LA VRAIE VIE CHRETIENNE.* Par R. P. A. Gardeil, O. (Bibliothèque française de Philosophie). Paris: Desclée Brouwer. 1935. Pp. ix+362. 20 francs.

All Catholic spitituality is fundamentally one: the knowledge Jesus Christ, and of Him crucified, which St. Paul declared to be t

of all his learning. But this essential unity leaves room for derable diversity : if the Spirit of God speaks the same language ery age and nation and religious family, it does not always speak the same accent, nor distribute its stresses in the same way.

he doctrine expounded by Father Gill in his pleasant, readable, altogether uncontroversial little book is that of the Spiritual cises of St. Ignatius. The Exercises have been to very many a to be contradicted and to many more a puzzle. A pamphlet of a pages, with not an unnecessary word and with scarcely an adjective nem, taken up for the most part with the briefest recapitulation me leading Christian truths and a number of Gospel scenes, it not give away to the casual reader the secret either of its wonderful ess or of the intense opposition it has sometimes aroused, even in most unlikely quarters. In the view of this criticism, which never ceased from the sixteenth century to our own time, Father does well to reassure his readers in the beginning, by showing the attitude of the Holy See to the Exercises has always been of unqualified approval.

Father Gill does not attempt a systematic exposition of the Exercises for his purpose that would not be either necessary or desirable. object is primarily to help those who have made, or are about to e, an Ignatian retreat, to find their bearings ; to see whither they being led, and so to get the maximum of spiritual profit. With this iew he runs over the leading ideas of the Exercises ; the motives before the exercitant, the Ignatian attitude towards God, towards Lord, towards sin and the spirit of the world ; the rules for dealing h scruples, for the discernment of " spirits," for the choice of a te of life ; the doctrine of prayer. He makes no attempt to be austive, and the reader feels with pleasure that he is being helped of a vast store. Father Gill's perfect familiarity with his subject kes his book very easy reading ; the reader's feet instinctively k the mantlepiece. Directors of retreats will find a great deal of p and guidance in this little book. It is admirably printed and ned out.

Opening the late Père Gardeil's *La Vraie Vie Chrétienne*, we come o a different world. We have left a Jesuit atmosphere for a minican, and no one could fail to note the difference. It is the ference one will always find between the works of the two Orders. e Dominican will be more metaphysical, the Jesuit more psycho- ical. The Dominican's concern is with the absolute truth ; the suit is thinking of the reactions of his hearer or reader to his doctrine. dealing with heresy, for instance, the Dominican instinct is to show, the light of eternal truth, the falsity of the heretical teaching : St. natius, on the other hand, was anxious that his followers should

get into touch with the heretics, insist rather on the points wh their doctrine was that of the Church, and so try to lead them b into the fold. Again, a Jesuit, mindful of the trouble and disturba that the doctrine of predestination may cause to souls insufficien prepared for its consideration—and for the matter of that, its dan even to the learned, as the history of Christianity sadly testifies—v only speak of it when he must, and then with much circumspecti as St. Ignatius recommends him to do. A Dominican writer on t other hand will give it the place in the plan of the spiritual life which its theological importance entitles it. *Qui potest capere capi* he would say: if the immature or the unwise suffer, so much t worse. The difference is not accidental; it is rooted in the natu and aim of the two Orders. It is pointed out by Suarez, and h lately been put clearly and well by Father Reeves, O.P., in his excelle little work *The Dominicans*. One sees it in the saints of the t Orders whom the Church has made Doctors. Thomas and Albe tower like great Alpine peaks. Canisius and Bellarmine, hills relatively modest elevation, carry practicable roads over which countle pilgrims from the North have made their way to Rome.

It follows that a serious theological or ascetical work by a Dominic is not for the vulgar; it requires a certain intellectual and spiritu maturity before it can be assimilated. This is certainly the case her Père Gardeil's book is for the "esprits bronzés et rassis," to quote phrase of the late Henri Bremond. But these will find abunda pasture in this splendid though unfortunately truncated work, ordered and profound study of the foundations of the spititual li It is a matter of deep regret that its distinguished author did not li to complete it. But the piety and devotion of his nephew, Père Gardeil, have done much to make good the loss. M. F. E.

## Biography

*SAINT PETER CANISIUS* (1521-1597). By James Brodrick, S. London: Sheed and Ward. 1935. Pp. 859. 25s. net.

When the reviewer laid down the second volume of Father Brodrick Life of Bellarmine, it was with a *Deo gratias* for Bellarmine and h interpreter—giving us such great humanity in such superhuman grea ness. One felt that one knew both Bellarmine and Father Brodri and that both were well worth knowing. And now comes Canisius- not a "charming" saint as a lady's sodality might interpret a "charm ing" director—but surely a very lovable saint and a saint for who the whole Church of God might well send up a perpetual *Te Deu*

Why the love? And why the *Te Deum?* Read this Life, and yo won't ask "Why." But, as you have not yet read it—well, Canisi

intensely simple, intensely human, intensely kind, intensely every-
g that wins attraction in the grown-up children who have grown
in Bethlehem and Nazareth. He could extend his charity
to foul-mouthed heretics. He deprecated paying them
k in their own evil exchange. No less than St. Francis de Sales,
believed in honey rather than vinegar as an antidote to sourness.
neither saint was this weakness but the strength of the truly strong,
o do not share that penultimate infirmity of the good—the fear
seeming weak. Who is weak and I am not weak? Canisius's
ers are full of his own weakness, and only his reconquest of almost
f of Europe told of his strength. With a will of steel, he yet wills
to win by steel. Where lesser men would have cut the tangle,
is always the most patient of unravellers. All who suffer in authority
m the weakness and perversity of good subjects will find much to
rn from Father Peter's patience. Why not call in the law and put
quick end to this childish and exasperating narrow selfishness in
midst of what reads like the last desperate struggle to save Germany,
hemia, Austria and much else besides? But Peter remembered
other Peter in the Passion and even Judas—and so he was always
tient and by his patience won over even the most perverse, scarcely
er failing. In this connection Father Brodrick has much to say
the human weakness of some of St. Peter's subjects in his chapter
Tristia" and "Father Peter and Father Paul" and elsewhere.
me may complain that he has been too candid here as elsewhere:
certainly has not failed in candour—except surcease be failure—
t we do not agree. He has followed in the tradition of the wise
structions of Leo XIII, of Pastor, and of his own distinguished fellow
suits Fathers Astrain and Tacchi-Ventura and the rest, and the
sult is good both for the Church and for her much besmeared
nderella.

The book is generous in its proportions, but healthily so, and we
ould regret to see any considerable slimming. The fat are good-
tured and leisurely just; the slim are curt and angular, with ugly
ges. Father Brodrick is eminently fair and well balanced. Im-
ense labour was involved in the book, as is evidenced by its teeming
formation. But the Galway breezes blow through the British
useum: there is plenty of delightful humour and the touch of the
ish fairy lightens many a dark Teuton scene—as witness "the bright
ung things" of Augsburg, with their cosmetics, who ran their con-
nt as a kind of lady's club—till Saint Peter came along.

Bohemia, Poland, Austria, Bavaria, the Rhineland and Holland,
rent, Worms, and Innsbruck—all pass before us vividly in these
ges; and across them sweep brilliant and tragic figures—Popes,
mperors, kings, archdukes, nuncios, archbishops and bishops (some

not yet ordained priests), canons with very uncanonical tastes, and the rest. The amazing thing is the universality of St. Peter's gen for making friends and getting the best out of everybody. It w probably due to his uncanny power of finding out any good that w left in anybody, and often this was a microscopic process.

The summary impression left by this great Life is a sense of t marvellous Providence of God over the Church, the divine nature her guarantee and the terrible power for evil of the corruption of t best. The situation in Europe to-day has some elements—especia human nature—very much as things were at the Reformation ; b in the comparative standard of the lives of clergy and religious no and then and in the richness of instruction and devotion amongst t people now we find much ground for courage and hope. It on remains to make the assurance of faith and hope doubly sure, and f this we can learn much from Canisius's methods—and to strengthe human nature in every way against even the beginnings of the spiritu Black Death of Central Europe which reeks through history.

A last word to thank the author and the publishers for a gre constructive work, which should prove a powerful stimulus to apostol fervour and Catholic Action—for Canisius was above all the intense effective and fervent man of action ; and he was effective because h was fervent, and he was fervent because he spent seven hours a da in prayer—with practically nothing of ecstasies or visions or miracle

J. C. J.

*ROBERT SOUTHWELL THE WRITER. A Study in Religio Inspiration.* By Pierre Janelle, Docteur ès-Lettres, Chargé c cours à l'Université de Clermont. London : Sheed and War 1935. Pp. 336. 16s. net.

First, Professor Janelle relates, with admirable art (though at tim a little impeded by his very full documentation), the story of Robe Southwell's life and death. We see the strange origins of the martyr the short but important months at Douai at the age of sixteen and th vocation to the Jesuit Order ; the ten years in Rome, when, comin from the solemnity of its great churches or rising from a tutorial c Ovid, he would open a packet that told of friends taken and torture in England, and remember that to him Rome was an armed cam from which he must soon go out on a campaign that could have bu one end. The contrast is vivid between his farewell to Father Parson at the Ponte Milvio and his reappearance in Elizabethan Londo in the guise of a young fashionable, larding his talk with sportin terms to cover his omission of profanity. But the aristocracy h frequented—the Arundel family, the Howards, Lord Vaux—unde their exterior of Elizabethan courtiers had a serious secret ; in thei houses his disguise was cast aside, and he became a priest.

outhwell's mission was first to minister and console, and second o what he could to win back England. This he hoped to do through noble families, as was done later in Hungary. Besides personal course, he exerted himself in able and eloquent pamphlets, printed secret press. In political intrigues he took no part. After six s of liberty preserved almost by miracle, he was taken in 1592, ured appallingly, and then left three years in solitary confinement. n he was tried. A thrilling contemporary narrative of the trial ere given. It was contrived as a sort of public debate, in which as hoped to abash and confuse the Catholic cause in a probably k defender; but the "boy priest," knowing how much depended him, showed a fine fighting spirit and had decidedly the best of it. the execution, "his head being showed to the people, no one was rd to cry 'Traitor, Traitor,' as beforetime they were wont to do, passed the matter over in silence."

As a preliminary to the account of Southwell's works, we are given excellent account of the counter-reformation theory and practice writing. Its vice was to make literature essentially didactic: to at poetic beauty as a mere gilding of the moral pill. Infallibly, en beauty is treated as gilding it becomes tawdriness. Pontanus l other easy guides to the useful art of poetry (he offered a *verum commodum ad Heliconum iter*) plagued European literature for erations with the disease of artificial rules and frigid conceits. t the Counter-Reformation did more for literature than against it. verse it gave new themes of religious feeling, which engendered ir poetry in spite of the rules. It did still more for prose; aiming cessfully to write with liveliness and rationality, and yet not to e, when occasion demanded it, the poetic intonation of the Vulgate d the Fathers.

Professor Janelle shows Southwell's progress in poetry from con- tism to directness. Many of the poems are admirable. It is a asure of Southwell's obscurity that he is known chiefly by one that far from the best, *The Burning Babe*, which is disfigured by pattering tre and a puerile conceit. It will be agreed that the most remark- le is the *Vale of Tears;* a remembered picture of the St. Gothard ss, in which the sorrowful and terrible grandeur of the hills is shown a metaphor of the soul's desolation and a threat to its sinfulness. has, two hundred years before, Wordsworth's detailed grasp of scene and the "harmony austere" of some of his mountain etry.

The prose works are even less known to the ordinary student of erature; perhaps when they come to be accessible they will rank ove the verse. *The Epistle of Comfort* (to distressed Catholics) is rhaps the first prose poem in English, and extremely fine. As we

read the following, we surely realise that we are listening to Joh Donne's hitherto unknown master :—

" You haue laboured to suppress vs this 30 yeares : and yet of ou ashes spring others, and our dead bones (as *Ezechiel* prophesied) ar come to be *exercitus grandis*, a huge army. With your thunderin both the clowd of errour is dissolved, the enclosed light of truth dis played, and the earth watered with profitable showers to the ripenin of Gods corne. New slips are euer engrafted, when the old bough i cut off ; and the vertue of the roote that the bough leeseth, the slip enioyeth. You cut open fruit and shed the kernell on the earth, where for one that you spoyle, many will spring vp of it. We are the wheate of Christ (as S. *Ignatius* said) and are ready (if you will) to be ground with the teeth of wild beasts, or if you will not suffer that, with the mill stones of your heauy persecution, that we may become pure and cleane bread in the sight of Christ."

A briefer quotation from the *Letter to his Father* (a time-server whom he converted) will suggest Sir Thomas Browne : " I am not of so unnatural a kind, of so wild an education, or so unchristian a spirit, as not to remember the root out of which I branched, or to forget my secondary maker and author of my being."

These are not the suggestions of Professor Janelle, who (beyond suggesting that the famous Anglican temper of moderation and the literature expressing it, is a Jesuit penetration into Anglicanism begun by Southwell) does not go far into his influence on English letters. It is to be hoped that the present book will be followed by a study of this matter ; there is reason to suspect that in Southwell lies the root of Donne's poetry, Herbert's, Crashaw's and Vaughan's, and of Donne's and Browne's prose. Professor Janelle's fine appreciation of the works he examines shows how well he is fitted for the task. Already he has drawn Southwell into the full light of literary history, and shown that he is likely to become a classic. J. J. H.

*EDMUND CAMPION*. By Evelyn Waugh. London : Longmans. 1935. Pp. 225. 6s. net.

Mr. Waugh very modestly offers his book as a popular life to bridge the gap between Simpson's and the definitive biography which will some day be written. It is arranged (but discreetly and effectively) in the current dramatic or novelistic way, opening on the scene of Queen Elizabeth's death, and following her memory back to the Oxford visit in 1566, when she graciously noticed the brilliant young Fellow of St. John's. We see Campion in uncertainty, taking deacon's orders, then throwing up his career and fleeing to Ireland, where as yet Catholics were little disturbed. In this country we find him, like Newman later, projecting a University and paving the way to it with

course (*De Homine Academico*). Besides, he wrote a History of nd. The sources were only Cambrensis and Stanihurst, the thesis we needed civilizing; but the book is a superb exercise in style. :—"Clear men they are of skin and hue, but of themselves ess and bestial. Their women are well favoured, clear coloured, neaded, big and large, suffered from their infancy to grow at will, ng curious of their feature and proportions of body."

n two years, persecution reached Ireland, and Campion made his to Douai. There he was reconciled to the Church, and shortly set on foot to Rome to become a Jesuit. Six years were spent teaching ague; then he was called back to Rome to take his instructions for and. Travelling north, he was in characteristic exuberant spirits, h reached their height at Geneva, when he and his party knocked old Beza at his house and argued predestination with him. In and, he ministered for one crowded year. Anticipating that his h, when it came, would be misrepresented, he wrote out a vindi- n to be kept in readiness; this document, nicknamed *Campion's* , got about and created an immense stir. One magnificent para- h must be quoted :—

"Many innocent hands are lifted up to heaven for you daily by e English students, whose posteritie shall never die, which beyond gathering virtue and sufficient knowledge for the purpose, are rmined never to give you over, but either to win you heaven, or ie upon your pikes. And touching our Societie, be it known to that we have made a league—all the Jesuits in the world, whose ession and multitude must overreach all the practices of England— rfully to carry the cross you shall lay upon us, and never to despair r recovery, while we have a man left to enjoy your Tyburn, or to be ed with your torments, or consumed with your prisons. The ense is reckoned, the enterprise is begun; it is of God, it cannot withstood. So the faith was planted: so it must be restored."

The *Brag* made the hunt for Campion very keen. But one last ing, Sinn-Féin-like *coup* he accomplished; on Commencement at Oxford copies of his pamphlet *Decem Rationes* were found on ry seat in St. Mary's. A fortnight later he was taken. The Queen erviewed her one-time favourite and made him large offers (some l even Canterbury); then he was three times racked, four times ried to public debate with insolent divines; tried, and on December 1581, hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn.

About the figure of the Blessed Edmund Campion, Mr. Waugh icts with admirable force and colour the changing historical scene those first bewildering and then desperate years. As a specimen, e is his imaginative reconstruction of Mass at dawn :—

"It needs little fancy to reconstruct the scene; the audience

hushed and intent, every member of whom was risking liberty fortune, perhaps his life, by attendance. The dusk lightened and candles paled on the improvised altar, the tree tops outside the win took fire, as Campion spoke. The thrilling tones, the profusion imagery, the polish and precision, the balanced, pointed argume the whole structure and rich ornament of rhetoric which had stir the lecture halls and collegiate chapels of Oxford and Douai, Ro Prague and Rheims, inspired now with more than human artist rang through the summer dawn. And when the discourse had moun to its peroration and the fiery voice had dropped to the qu traditional words of the blessing, a long silence while the priest robed and assumed once more his secular disguise; a hurried pack away of the altar furniture, a few words of leave taking, and then horses' hooves clattered once more in the cobbled yard; Campi was on his way, and the Catholics dispersed to their homes."

J. J. H.

*BLESSED OLIVER PLUNKET, Archbishop of Armagh a Primate of All Ireland.* By Mrs. Thomas Concannon, M.A D.Litt., T.D. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. Pp. 311. 19 7s. 6d. net.

THIS new life of Blessed Oliver Plunket does honour, not merely its distinguished author, but to Monsignor Langan, Monsignor Lyo and the other able workers of the Oliver Plunket Union, whose z in the cause of the holy Martyr's canonization has won for them t gratitude of the nation. It is earnestly to be hoped that their labou will, within a reasonable period, be crowned with success.

Dr. Concannon's name is sufficient guarantee that the life of Bless Oliver is competently and beautifully written. Nothing that is wor knowing is omitted. She shows in the opening chapter what th future martyr owed to inheritance, for the Plunkets of the Pale we for centuries a pious family. Whether they were Norse rather tha Norman, by origin, as in their pride of lineage they claimed, is a moo question, for a Norse family of rank in Louth of the eleventh centur would be a phenomenon worthy of attention. Whatever their origi may have been, it is abundantly clear that they identified themselve wholeheartedly with the English of the Pale and shared in the good o evil fortune of those colonists. They were a shrewd race, tenacious o purpose and adepts by long practice in the art of self-advancement Yet they stood conscientiously by their principles when the Refor mation came and bore like men the consequences.

The Martyr's life is an epitome of the ecclesiastical history of hi generation. His family connections counted for much, yet he had t go abroad to be educated and live for twenty-two years in exile. Unde

on heel of the Cromwellians well-to-do Irish Catholics almost to exist. The inhuman slavery imposed upon Catholics by Protestant masters baffles description, though it was to become orse in the following century. Blessed Oliver's lot as Archbishop nagh was comparable with that of the criminal and the outlaw. h a great priest, a great scholar and a great gentleman he lived ligence, always half in hiding, sometimes "on the run"; and e the vaunted excellence of British law he was to die barbarously e scaffold for a crime which judge, jury and counsel knew quite hat he had never committed.

troubles within the domestic fold Dr. Concannon speaks at ent length. She refuses very justly to rattle the bones of dead oversies. She is obviously too accomplished an historian to set ed Oliver's life in other than its real setting or to misinterpret erms of earlier or of later politics. Her work, in a word, is trust-y.

r. Concannon is finally to be congratulated on having secured Mr. Robert Simmington, whose experience in this branch of rch is unique, a list of the priests ordained by Blessed Oliver, Archbishop of Armagh, and valuable notes on the circumstances r which such information came to be recorded. These appendices Mr. Simmington's pen add further to the worth of this excellent aphy.

J. R.

*XIII, ITALY AND FRANCE.* By Eduardo Soderini. Trans-lated by Barbara Barclay Carter. London: Burns and Oates. 1935. 15s.

year Messrs. Burns and Oates published the first volume of their ish translation of Count Soderini's official life of Leo XIII, reviewed TUDIES of last June. This second volume continues the story of Pope's efforts to conciliate the modern world. As in the first me, the story is carried from the first year of the pontificate down ne Pope's death for each of the separate sections into which the aphy has been divided. The two sections that are dealt with in volume make, it must be confessed, sad reading. Both in Italy France Leo XIII spent a quarter of a century in striving to con-e foes who refused every compromise and whose malignant lity became ever more apparent. At the time of his death a ement either of the question of the Pope's territorial rights in Vatican or of the Catholic relations with the third Republic seemed e remote than ever. Yet Count Soderini insists rightly that the ense prestige of the dying Pope was the foundation on which re policies were to be carried through to happier conclusions. n the Italian section of this volume the long story of the Pope's

efforts to maintain his position in Rome are told, but with su manifest effort at discretion that the ordinary reader will prob find the narrative disappointing. Count Soderini knows prec to whom he is alluding in each cautiously-worded paragraph; bu readers are often left to guess. His account of the Pope's pers relations with Crispi are of interest; and he has personal inform to contribute as to the part played by Leo XIII in the matter o Italian prisoners held by the Abyssinians after the disaster of Ad This is an incident to which many readers will turn to-day, but will probably feel that the last word of explanation has not yet said. So, too, with the various individual attempts to bring a a *rapprochement* between the Italian Government and the Vat on the Law of Guarantees. Time after time a well-meaning atte is made: the Pope seems at first to be favourably inclined; t comes the firm and decisive condemnation; and we are still left won ing as to the real motives behind all this obscure drama.

In the French section of his book Count Soderini is again wri partly from personal knowledge; for he was sent on a diplom mission to Paris at one period of this story. His account adds li to what is known already, though he has some excellent critici of the part played by the various Papal Nuncios in Paris under Third Republic. But the ever-recurring theme of his narrative is settled policy of Leo XIII to effect a united front amongst Fre Catholics on questions of common interest to them all, and his t failure. *La politique du ralliement* was, so Count Soderini holds, only intelligent policy at the time, and his sympathies are pla with the small group of distinguished Catholic politicians who w prepared to make any sacrifice to attain this end. But Card Lavigerie's unfortunate effort at Algiers and the Pope's more for appeal in *Inter innumeras sollicitudines* were unavailing; and the months of the aged Pontiff's career were saddened by the news of w Combes and Waldeck-Rousseau were planning in France. A. G

*THEODORIC, ROI DES OSTROGOTHS.* Par Marcel Bri Paris: Payot. 1935. 25 francs.

This book forms one of a series of popular works entitled *Bibliothè Historique.* The style of these works is halfway between the histori and the romantic. M. Brion has already written on the history the Huns and on Alaric. It is to be feared that in the present w he allows the scale to sink too much on the romantic side. What almost more serious, he is inclined at points where no detailed inf mation exists to cover up the lack by a verbosity which is truly f midable.

The story of the great Theodoric, "grandest figure in the histo

he migrations of peoples " as Hodgkin called him, whose name ed into legend as Dieterich of Bern, squire of Etzel the Hun, is :self an excellent subject for the imaginative writer, because it is, ke that of Etzel, or Attila, himself, both extremely interesting and attested. Theodoric was in fact a far greater man than Attila, was dead before he was born ; but he combined with the ability he soldier and statesman a tendency to savage outbursts of appalling , in one of which he murdered with his own hand his rival Odovacar, in another caused all the latter's followers to be massacred in a of anticipation of the Sicilian Vespers.

The reign of Theodoric in Italy is by no means shrouded in legendary ight, for apart from two contemporary biographies written from osing points of view, we have the works of his minister Cassiodorus, ch Hodgkin has called " the State-papers of the Ostrogothic narchy," and the famous *Consolatio* of Boethius, whose condem- ion is one of the most mysterious events of the period. Theodoric also received elaborate attention from modern historians, first ong them in this respect being Dahn and Hodgkin.

With such sources and such predecessors, M. Brion might have ieved a better book. His publishers announce him as having reated an extraordinarily modern figure, who " dreaming like a henstaufen " strove to unite and pacify Europe, and wished, three turies before Charlemagne, to set up on a northern basis a German pire to replace the Roman. There is, however, very little of all this he book, for the good reason that it is merely an illegitimate expan- n of a sound enough *obiter dictum* of Hodgkin's. In a sense Theodoric s of course the predecessor of Charlemagne, as Dahn showed him be a successor of Maroboduus, the contemporary of Tiberius. But re is no evidence of his ever having dreamed of a Nordic empire, ich indeed was almost unthinkable in his time. He was unable n to unite his own Arian kinsmen in a central block against Catholic nks and orthodox East, and his chief pre-occupation was in fact ntroduce *civilitas* among his Goths. Hodgkin's Victorian reverence the fresh young Northern heirs of a degenerate Byzantinism is e revived much less ably in the form of a Nordic racialism which s not as important to Theodoric as to Hitler.

The details of M. Brion's account are sometimes much more sur- sing than his rather vague effort at recreating a Nordic dreamer. constantly refers to fifth-century Roman Emperors as " Por- yrogénètes," speaks of " soldats scandinaves " as the guard of Leo I, l makes the young Theodoric, as a hostage in Constantinople, see famous golden lions and singing-birds which are first heard of in time of Theophilus during the ninth century. After this con- sion to the picturesque we are not surprised to see the Isaurians

described as "montagnards balkaniques." This is not one of t successes of Messrs. Payot's Historical Library. M. T.

## Celtica

*STUDIES IN EARLY CELTIC NATURE POETRY.* By Kenne Jackson, M.A., Fellow of St John's College, Cambridg Cambridge: University Press. 1935. 12+204 pp. 12s. 6d.

In *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry* Mr. Kenneth Jackson trea of the origins and poetic value of the early nature poems of Iri and Welsh literature. His book gives evidence of careful study both the Irish and Welsh material and of wide reading in many oth literatures. It is rare to find such learning combined with poet sensibility and a real gift of literary criticism and appreciation. Neve theless the combination is found on many pages of Mr. Jackson's boo —most notably, perhaps, on p. 81, where the meaning of the adjecti "imaginative" as applied to the best Celtic nature poetry is apt illustrated by contrasting a lovely description of dewdrops on bu from the *Pervigilium Veneris* with an un-imaginative nature passag in the same metre from a poem by Tiberianus.

Part I of Mr. Jackson's book gives prose translations of the chi nature poems of the early period, followed by some pages of note The work of translation has been excellently done [1] and should he in making these poems known outside the circle of Celtic scholar Readers unable to consult the originals, however, must bear in min that beauties of metre and wording cannot be reproduced in a transl tion.

In Part II the Welsh and Irish poems are compared with one anothe and with similar poems in other literatures. From this compariso it appears that the poems fall into four main classes: Hermit Poetry Elegy and Fenian Poetry, Gnomic Poetry,[2] and Seasonal Poetry Mr. Jackson shows that all these classes have their analogies in othe

[1] Slips, such as the confusion on p. 22 of *dána*, 'brave' (poem xxiv, § 2), and *dán* "poems," are rare.

[2] No gnomic poems comparable to the Welsh occur in the extant literature of th period treated of by Mr. Jackson. It is worth mentioning, however, that such gnomi poems (not nature gnomes) do occur in the Early Modern period (*cf.* examples listed b Dr. T. F. O'Rahilly, *Measgra Dánta*, notes to poem 3). Are these due to Welsh influenc working through an Anglo-Norman channel, or are they an instance of the late appearanc in written literature of a primitive Celtic folk-genre? It is perhaps noteworthy that on of these Early Modern gnomic poems is attributed to the fourteenth century Munste poet Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh, who was in close contact with an Anglo-Norman family the Fitzgeralds. Another is by the late seventeenth century Munster poet David Ó Bruadair. The same Ó Bruadair has a parody of the folk-song *Thugamair féin an Samhradh linn* (*cf.* p. 162 of Mr. Jackson's book), which may thus be traced back to the seventeenth century. In that parody Ó Bruadair (Poems, Pt. II, p. 34) refers to the gathering (*mustar* of maidens on the 1st of May. This must refer to the modern Mayday customs mentioned by Mr. Jackson (p. 162) (*cf.* also Mr. H. Morris's note in his *Céad de Cheoltaibh Uladh* 1915, p. 285).

ıtures. Part II ends with an index which is unusually complete helpful.

The chapter on Hermit Poetry is that most likely to please poetry-rs. The other chapters, however, have for the specialist the great action that they throw a wholly new light on the development he genres of which they treat. The conclusions arrived at are ortant and show the value of the comparative method of approach-such questions.

The hermit poems, Mr. Jackson points out, form one distinct class. non-hermit poems form other classes. This is true, and it is a ıt which no previous worker in this field of research has sufficiently en into account. The evidence clearly points to the influence the non-hermit nature poems of some or all of the primitive genres *scél*-chants (p. 170), seasonal festival songs, gnomic poems, and gies such as those which many primitive literatures put in the mouth exiles, outcasts, and persons whom old age or sickness has deprived friends and happiness.

It might be objected that these genres did not produce what Mr. ckson would describe as "imaginative" nature poetry in other tances. Hints throughout the book[1] suggest that the 'imaginative' ment came from the monasteries. Perhaps Mr. Jackson might have veloped these hints further were he not afraid of falling into the or of former researchers, who tended to explain everything in Celtic ture poetry as perversion, or development, of the hermit theme. e priority in time of the extant hermit nature poetry over the non-rmit nature poetry has been pointed out in an article in STUDIES arch 1931). That there was a reason why Christian hermits should preciate natural beauty more than other men was pointed out in e same article; and in his chapter on hermit poetry (*cf.* also p. 167) r. Jackson has added to that evidence. In the same article it was own that monks, in metrical matters at least, were the moulders of e Old Irish tradition of poetry. These points have not been stressed Mr. Jackson. One might indeed, using scholastic terminology, ld that his interest in the material causes of certain nature poems s led him to neglect the formal cause. In an integral judgment th causes must be included. The present reviewer is, therefore, clined to hold that it was the love of natural beauty developed in e hermitages which turned the suitable material of certain primitive nres into that which Mr. Jackson calls imaginative nature poetry. he theory is at least possible. Perhaps Mr. Jackson in some future ork will use his wide reading and his mastery of the comparative ethod either to prove or disprove it.

G. M.

[1] *E.g.*, "Yet the seasonal poets may have known the hermit poems and felt their fluence," p. 172, note 4.

*LLAWLYFR HEN WYDDELEG.* Gan G. Melville Richards, M.A. Cymrawd Prifysgol Cymru. Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru 1935. viii+136 pp. 6s.

This little handbook is to be recommended to Welsh students wh wish to study Old Irish through the medium of their national languag

Its paradigms, which are accurate, are based on those of J. Stracha as revised by Dr. Osborn Bergin. The explanatory matter and th pages on phonetics are based mainly on Dr. R. Thurneysen's *Handbuc* The volume includes specimens of Old Irish prose (16 pp.), extracte from the *Glosses* and the *Book of Armagh*, and of Old and Early Middl Irish poetry (13 pp.), extracted mainly from *Saltair na Rann*. Thes extracts, some of which are not easily procurable elsewhere, exten the book's appeal to students of Old Irish unacquainted with Welsh The extracts are followed by Welsh notes and a vocabulary whic gives the meanings in Welsh. Some misleading statements due t over-condension of Dr. Thurneysen's German in the Welsh summary of it, and occasional misplacement of accents in the normalised spellin of the Middle Irish texts, may easily be corrected in a future edition.

G. M.

## Classics

*PLATO'S THOUGHT.* By G. M. A. Grube. London: Methuen 1935. 12s. 6d. net.

It is an obvious scholastic necessity for modern students of Plato t attempt the task for undertaking which he speaks so severely, in hi seventh Epistle, of Dionysius II. In that letter, addressed to the friends of his friend Dion, he protests that there never was nor eve would be any work of his in which his teaching would be set forth His numerous published works were not intended to give an account of his philosophic system, for he had no system, but only what he himself called a "method," a way of approach towards the point at which the best and wisest could apprehend the truth of things. To understand his method, his manner of looking at life, is all we can hope for by a study of his writings, and even that understanding was rendered peculiarly difficult until quite recently by the unsystematic order in which they have come down to us as arranged by the favourite astrologer of the Emperor Tiberius.

It was the method of stylistic and linguistic comparison, first applied in 1867 by Lewis Campbell and followed up by Lutoslawski and Ritter, that laid the foundation for an objective study of Plato's thought by establishing in broad outline the sequence in which his works appeared. The full fruits of the method are only now being harvested, with the result that more really valuable books on Plato have appeared within the past fifteen years than during the previous

Professor Grube has set himself the task of systematising the of this very large volume of modern work. His method differs and starting-point from that followed by Professor A. E. Taylor's s book. Whereas the latter studied the dialogues one by one, ıg, of course, to a definite chronological order, Professor Grube a series of topics, and extracts from the dialogues Plato's views ch of them. This method has the advantage both of giving us losest approach possible to a Platonic system and of showing subtle but none the less unmistakable changes took place in the sopher's attitude as he grew older. In a very real sense of course, e late Paul Shorey always insisted, his thought remained a unity, here is no doubt at least of a shifting of emphasis.

rofessor Grube's chapters are devoted to an examination in this on of the theory of Ideas, Pleasure, Eros, the nature of the soul, ods, art, education, and state-craft. On every one of these sub- he has obviously studied Plato with the greatest attention, and judgments are invariably both personal and courageous. He ws Ritter in the ordering of the dialogues, but here too he proposes iled divagations from that great authority. In a valuable appendix, first of four, he shrewdly and effectively criticises Burnet's view in the *Phaedo* the theory of Ideas is taken as well-known, that nias and Kebes are represented as Pythagoreans, and that the ric Socrates derived the theory from their school. The Socratic lem is, however, still *sub judice*, and there is no doubt that Burnet Taylor at least did good service in drawing attention to the light by the *Clouds* on Plato's interpretation of his master.

In his chapter on the Ideas, Professor Grube confers a real benefit the student by showing how, although less emphasised in later ogues, they are still at the back of Plato's mind even in the *Laws*. change here was chiefly that he began in his later work to admit possibility of *motion* in the world of Ideas. In this respect Pro- or Grube's treatment of Plato's theology from the *Phaedrus* on is ortant, with its clear distinction between the static and the amic in relation to the gods. It is in fact now becoming clearer the turning-point in Plato's later thought is marked by the *edrus*, which is acknowledged as coming definitely after the *ublic*.

It is possible to criticise some of Professor Grube's conclusions certain points. His treatment of the Platonic Eros is certainly rior to that by Taylor; there is a strange *non sequitur* in a note p. 89 where Plato is declared not to have condemned the besetting ek vice as such because he did not look with excessive favour on kind of sexual relations. Surely his treatment of this matter in *Laws*, late though it be, leaves no doubt as to his views? It is

scarcely fair to imply, as here on p. 88, that Aspasia was a prostit She was only not the wife of Pericles in consequence of a peculiar l law of Athens. On p. 121 the very questionable assertion is m that Orphic doctrines came from the East. There is some confu again on Plato's treatment of poetry in his *Republic* and elsewh it is implied that he does not *really* condemn poetry, whereas in he regards both poets and sophists of all kinds as rivals of the ph sopher, and insists repeatedly that only the Socratic philosophe entitled to write or capable of writing either prose or poetry.

Professor Grube's careful and stimulating book will be of value to all who desire to know what Plato meant. M. T

## Economics and Politics

*SOVIET TRADE FROM THE PACIFIC TO THE LEVAN*
By Violet Conolly. Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS volume continues and completes Miss Conolly's study of So external trade with the various countries from Turkey and Egypt China and Japan ; it has also a very instructive opening chapter on present economic position and future prospects of the Soviet Eastern Region. The problem which she has set herself is of c siderable intrinsic importance, but has hitherto suffered strange negle it is also interesting for the light that it throws on Soviet metho diplomatic and economic. The investigation has involved a gr amount of patient and thoroughgoing research among documen statistics and the Russian newspapers. The character of these pub cations has made the task one of more than usual difficulty. Reliabil is not their most striking feature—they partake too much the natu of propaganda. Yet careful, continual, and above all critical stu of them will enable one to reach a reasonable approximation to t truth. Luckily Miss Conolly shows herself possessed of the qualiti necessary to make a success of her task. "Sources" which in le competent hands might have proved very misleading, have here be made to serve the cause of truth. The result is that we have present to us no mere compilation of facts and evidence, but a trustworth evaluation of them ; they have been worked over so as to lead definite conclusions, where such conclusions are justified. If h pursuit of facts has at different times involved her in months of tedio investigation, the reader must be grateful to her, as he is spared th tediousness by the attractive manner in which the results of her i vestigations have been set forth. Anyone who is even but partiall acquainted with the pitfalls of Soviet statistics will be in a positio to appreciate at its proper value the immense labour that the wi nowing of them has involved.

hough a broad distinction may be made between the countries
t with in her previous volume, *Soviet Economic Policy in the East,*
those which form the subject matter of the present study in that
*alia* Soviet trade with the former rests on the basis of some kind
ommercial treaty or agreement, the two volumes taken together
w considerable light on the uncertainties, variations, and oppor-
sm of Russian relations with these Eastern States. Right through
be noted the influence of political considerations—and the manner
which natural trade advantages due to the realities of economic
graphy are more than offset by unfavourable political conditions.
w long this will continue must remain a matter of conjecture.
s Conolly is of the opinion that in certain regions economics will
mately triumph over politics. Another feature that stands forth
he slight change in imperialistic outlook which has followed the
sition from the rule of the Czars to that of the deadly foes of all
perialism ! A brief but clearly told section on the Chinese Eastern
lway, with its appendices, provides interesting reading for the
dent of international affairs and brings out clearly the interaction
politics on commerce. This interaction of motives is also made
parent in the discussions on the lands of the Levant and Red
..

The final verdict is : " No more in the East than in the West is it
sible to discern any consecutive line of action in Soviet commercial
erations. Apart from the foreign trade monopoly, by which the
viet Government has the unique advantage of consolidating all the
ources of the U.S.S.R. on foreign markets, there is nothing characteris-
ally Soviet, nothing original in the mercantile theory underlying
viet foreign trade activities, though it is often erroneously presumed
at, amid the florescence of political and economic ideas in Communist
ssia, the technique of foreign trade has been transformed by novelty.
the particular domain of trade in the East the only fixed and clearly
fined aim appears to be to capture the oil markets of the East for
e U.S.S.R., whatever the cost may be."

This able study convinces us that in the Soviet Far Eastern region,
the relations of the Soviet Government with the lands along the
stern frontier and with the states investigated in this second volume,
s as unsafe to commit oneself to any prediction as it would be con-
rning the developments in the Union itself. To many questions
at must inevitably arise the serious student must content himself
th registering a large question mark. In this as in all other matters
ss Conolly has shown unusual judgment and critical acumen ; she has
ade a very valuable contribution to the understanding of Soviet
licy.

J. M. O'Sullivan

*LE CORPORATISME.* Par Gaetan Pirou. Paris : Sirey. 19
Pp. 67. 10 frcs.

*LES DROITS DU TRAVAILLEUR ET LE CORPORATISM*
Par Paul Chanson. Paris : Desclée de Brouwer. 1935.
247. 8 frcs.

THE well-known professor of economics in the University of Pa
M. Pirou, has produced an admirable brochure on the corporative id
He gives a brief, very brief, sketch of the history of the idea in t
nineteenth century in France, dealing chiefly with the influence of
la Tour du Pin and the Catholic school of social thought which beca
associated with his name. He then traces the modern revival of t
idea and the popularity it has won among the younger post-w
generation. M. Pirou cites a great number of works on the corporati
idea, but he seems deliberately (and justifiably) to have limited hims
to the history of " corporatism " in France, omitting its much long
and more crowded history in Germany.

The " Merits of Corporatism " are then examined in a spec
section, and examined in a most impartial and scientific manne
The doctrine is placed in juxtaposition to the doctrines of individualis
on the one side and of " statism " (socialistic or fascist) on the oth
The essence of the corporative organisation is well formulated in
sub-section : *Le Corporatisme comme auto-administration des cor
professionnels.* Turning from doctrine and theories M. Pirou go
on to relate corporatism to the economic facts of modern life. He
he finds the corporative idea in close contact with two most importa
economic phenomena : the growing need of organised, unified collecti
action in economic and social spheres, and the imperative necessit
of an intelligent control of production and other social activities.

The second part of the booklet is devoted to an equally impartia
examination of the difficulties of corporatism. Here four questio
come up for serious consideration. Corporatism is of its nature
static and conservative economic and social system—how then abou
economic progress ? Moreover, corporatism may easily give rise t
the pre-dominance of the " group " or " professional " interest ove
the common good. Thirdly, there is the vexed problem of the relation
between the corporations and the working-class, and especially th
position of the trade unions under a corporative system. Finally
the political question—does corporatism mean the end of democrac
and necessarily involve some form of dictatorship ? M. Pirou discusse
rather than answers these questions, but his attitude is decidedl
sympathetic to the general ideas of the doctrine of corporatism.

M. Chanson's much larger book is the work not of a professor o
economics, but of a practical business-man. The author is the Presiden
of the Shipowners' Federation of Calais and is an employer o

alist." He is a Catholic and deeply interested for long years capital-labour problem. Moreover, his book appears with an astical *nihil obstat* and *imprimatur*. It may be said at once ie has produced an excellent piece of work—clear, definite, te and shot through with an ardent enthusiasm.

Chanson divides his book into three parts. In the first he with the rights of the worker and develops the Catholic philosophy our in a sound and original manner. He has a chapter devoted h of four aspects of the workers' life : his person, his family, atrimony and his just reward. The second part of the book with *Labour and Society*. The social disorder, with its economic quences, which are only too obvious, calls for the reestablishment ler in society—hence for a vocational organisation. M. Chanson hope of estimating and establishing " a just social wage " under orative system and under it alone. But a vocational organisation self will not suffice : an organised and controlled system is also red. Consequently, M. Chanson makes a study of economic ns in order to trace causes of economic, as distinct from social, ler. As a result of this study he sketches *Le statut économique profession* and shows how " a just economic wage " will be achieved. he third part of the book treats of Labour and the Social Institu—namely the State, the Trade Union and the Corporation. With d to this last, both the functions and the constitution of " cor-ions " are fully and clearly discussed. The book closes with Schéma " of a corporative organisation and a few pages on the lution corporative." An extremely useful and stimulating book, ll prove invaluable to Catholic students of sociology seeking for sion and clarity in a difficult branch of their subject. E. J. C.

*TWO NATIONS*. By Christopher Hollis. London : Routledge. 1935. 10s. 6d.

" financial history of England from the standpoint of a monetary mer " contains a great deal of curious and interesting information to be found in the conventional histories of England, and is en throughout with the object of exposing the iniquities of the ers and their satellites. It is an essay in the economic interpre-n of history, and is certainly challenging and original. Not only ish history, but Irish history as well, is explained in terms of finance—" the Irish question was the question of usury."

n support of the statement just quoted Mr. Hollis argues that most e economic evils of the nineteenth century in Ireland were caused ne indebtedness of the Irish landlords to London money-lenders. e it is doubtless true that Irish estates were heavily mortgaged hat Irish rents were high, it is possible to exaggerate the influence

of one fact on the other. Mr. Hollis overlooks the Encumbered Estates Court Act which had the effect of clearing millions of acres of Irish land of debt in the middle of the century, and he appears to labour under the impression that Ireland was being taxed during the whole nineteenth century to meet the service of the old Irish public debt, which was amalgamated with the British debt in 1817, after which date it ceased to have any separate existence. But it was not alone the evils from which Ireland suffered that were caused by the machinations of the money power; the remedy for those evils was a fresh manifestation of the intrigues of the financiers. The Land Purchase Acts were approved, if not contrived, by the bankers.

"The bankers did not lose a penny out of it (*i.e.*, land purchase). Had they stood to lose, we may be sure that they would not have supported it. All that they did was to lend the money to the State with which the State bought out the landlords, who with the purchase money repaid their debt to the banks." No statistics are given to support this statement, although they could have been easily obtained by an examination of the list of subscribers to the Irish Guaranteed Land Stocks and of the files of the Land Commission. Such an examination would reveal that the greater part of the money required to finance land purchase was subscribed by private persons and not by the banks, and that only part of the purchase money paid for the estates was used for the payment of landlords' debts to the banks. The available statistics would certainly not support the sweeping generalization contained in the above quotation. In the same paragraph from which the quotation was taken we are told that "the annuity which he [the tenant] had to pay to the Government was . . . by the Wyndham Act, $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. of the purchase price . . . the land was always sold for less than twenty years purchase." The facts are that the rate of annuity under the Wyndham Act was $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., and the average number of years purchase under the Act was twenty-two. These minor inaccuracies are not of any great importance in themselves, but they do suggest that students of Mr. Hollis's book should be careful to test the statements of fact upon which the superstructure of argument is erected. G. O'B.

*THE PRICE LEVEL.* By Lt.-Col. K. E. Edgeworth. London: Allen and Unwin. 1935. 4s. 6d.

In an essay entitled *The Trade Balance* recently reviewed in these columns Colonel Edgeworth discussed the methods by which equilibrium can be maintained in international payments. The present essay examines the other problem of the monetary system, namely what internal price level should be regarded as desirable, and how the desired level should be maintained. The author makes it clear at

the outset that, although an adequate and efficient monetary system is necessary in a complete programme of national planning, no monetary system will in itself secure prosperity if the non-monetary system is unsatisfactory. Money, in other words, is a lubricant rather than a fuel: a bad money can clog a good system, but even the most perfect money cannot make a faulty system progress.

Colonel Edgeworth combines so much close reasoning on technical matters with such an economy of words that it is impossible for a reviewer to do more than indicate some of his main conclusions, and advise the interested reader to procure and peruse a copy of the book itself. The general thesis is that the aim of price level management should be stability of the commodity price level associated with rising wages, the rate of increase being not less than the rate of increase in the efficiency of production. The changes in the average rate of wages should be in the discretion of a Wages Board, which should also have the power to vary wage rates in particular trades or localities, and thus to increase the mobility and improve the distribution of labour. The advantages claimed for this device are that, by raising costs with increasing productivity, abnormal profits would not arise and inflationary booms would be checked, while the working classes would share in the fruits of progress.

Colonel Edgeworth would be the first to admit the existence of practical difficulties in the administration of such a scheme, especially in its early experimental stages; but the fact that a proposal is difficult in practice is no reason for its being refused an impartial and open-minded examination. In this connexion it is important to emphasize the fact that the suggested machinery for regulating the wage level is but one section of a tripartite plan for introducing more intelligent management in economic life, the other parts of the plan being the control of the activity of trade by changes in bank rate and the control of the trade balance by a variable gold parity or a variable exchange. It must be conceded that, whatever objections there may be to the feasibility of any part of this threefold programme of management, the difficulties of operating any one part would be considerably reduced if the other parts were already in successful operation. G. O'B.

## History

*STALIN.* Par Henri Barbusse. London: Lane. 1935. 12s. 6d.
*HISTOIRE DE LA RUSSIE COMMUNISTE,* 1917-1935. Par G. Welter. Paris: Payot. 1935. 18 fr.

THE claims made on the publisher's wrapper for the first of these books are that it "traces the history and development of Bolshevism . . . to the present time, and presents the case for Bolshevism from the

Russian point of view in an extremely clear and concise ma
No one is better qualified to present this case than Monsieur Barbu
We are also assured that he has had exceptional opportunitie
examining documents and for observing conditions. We sh
therefore, confidently expect, if not always a fully objective treat
of the subject, something of considerable value and at least an effe
piece of propaganda.

It is not usual for performance to fall so far short of the pro
This volume in no way adds to our information concerning Marx
Bolshevism or Stalin—nor does it help to a better understandin
them. Further, few pages can be accepted without reservatio
in some instances, even considerable reservations. The reader
find few, if any, of the qualities for which he is accustomed to
in any serious contribution to either history or biography—ex
a certain emotional sympathy with his subject. It would be a than
task to adduce examples of failure to observe even the lowest ca
of historiography. Opposition to Bolshevism need not expect qua
and the Party factions over which Stalin has been victorious do
fare much better. The author also suffers from the obsession tha
few declamatory words of praise or blame constitute a definitio
an exposition of a subject or a movement. He should have recogn
that readers in search of enlightenment seek something more t
the expression of his emotional reaction. They will have their kn
ledge of such basic matters as Marxism, Menchevism, and Bolshev
but little if at all widened or deepened by a study of this volu
Marxism was truly vague and indefinite enough in the hands of Len
here it becomes so vague as to be devoid of meaning.

Yet the evidence of some skill is not lacking in the way,
instance, in which certain views are insinuated by way of implicat
rather than bluntly put forward. For there is here an attemp
and this is but one among many in dominant Bolshevik circles—
fix on to Stalin qualities to which he can lay no real claim, and attrib
to him activities which do not stand to his credit. And this is h
done, to some extent at least, at the expense of any adequate presen
tion of the qualities which he undoubtedly does possess, and of servi
to the Party of which from his point of view he might be proud. T
criticism is of general import, but applies more particularly to t
earlier history of Bolshevism. But the fault of which I complain is
keeping with the strenuous efforts made in recent years to provi
for Stalin a "record." Stalin did work for the Party before 19
and even before 1917, and in its way useful work. But there
apparently in the Party an uneasy feeling that his genuine early reco
is no longer in keeping with the position which he now occupies. Hen
the rather blatant attempts, of which the present is but one, to

past history so as to make it fit in with the fulsome flattery that w being showered on the Dictator. To couple, as the author so does, Stalin's name with that of Lenin—" Lenin and Stalin did nd so "—as if they were co-equal leaders and shapers of policy in e early days, is simply fantastic. At that time Stalin could e no claims to any philosophic powers, nor did he in any way mpt to shape the general policy of the Party. His principal use enin was to be found in the fact that he was a reliable instrument, bedient party worker who could be relied on to carry out without tion orders from Headquarters.

Nobody can question the ability of the Bolshevists as propagandists, the reader cannot avoid asking himself what is the type of mind hich this book can appeal, even as propaganda. The whole thing o obvious. The critical spirit is too palpably in abeyance. State- ts of Stalin's supporters made within the last few years are put ard without further examination as evidence of what took place y years ago. But the obvious determination in recent years to nify every action of Stalin to carry through what almost amounts n apotheosis would convince one how unjustified such a procedure M. Barbusse should have realised that for good and effective paganda some advertence to fact and some display of judgment ld have been useful.

Far different in quality is the volume of M. Welter. The opening ion gives a good *résumé* of Russian history prior to the foundation he Bolshevik Party. What should be included and what omitted is largely a matter of choice, but the author seems happy in the ce he has made. He avoids the tendency into which one might ly fall to base his history of earlier events on the happenings of the few years. We have a clear and levelheaded, though necessarily reviated, picture of the fall of Czardom. M. Welter is successful assigning their proper rôles to the different parties and forces rating. Also the account of the complicated events from March November 1917 (New Style) is equally satisfactory. He avoids ibuting to the Bolshevik Party in the opening stages a greater uence than they actually wielded. This is a tendency which many ers do not escape so successfully. Short as is the book, it contains ny illuminating sidelights on events and personalities.

M. Welter does not fall a victim to the temptation of treating in in contrast with Stalin as the apostle of moderation, and his ount of the disputes that threatened to rend the Party after Lenin's th does not suffer from absurd hero-worship of any of the political lers—he is fair to all. There are, of course, views and phrases n which the reader will find cause to disagree ; but, apart from , the author can claim that he has been remarkably successful

in the fulfilment of his task. How far his views about the future Bolshevism are correct must remain a matter of conjecture. E readers who have given a great amount of thought to the Revoluti and have read extensively on the subject, will find M. Welter's c tribution very useful. He has the gift of helping with a few phra to clarify the confused and complicated issues.

J. M. O'Sullivan

*NEGOCIATIONS DE M. LE COMTE D'AVAUX EN IRLANI* 1689-1690. With introduction by James Hogan, M.A., D.L (The Irish Manuscripts Commission). Dublin : Stationery Offi 1934. 13+756 pp. 15s.

James II, "the first king of England who gave rank and digni weapons of war and uniforms to the men of Ireland" [1] however a mirable as a man, lacked the administrative ability necessary for successful ruler. His indecision, his lack of clear understanding the weak and the strong points of his position, and his tendency trust wrong advisers, are well illustrated on many pages of the *Négoc tions de M. le comte d'Avaux en Irlande*, 1689–1690. The poverty Jacobite Ireland, the disunion among its leaders, and the disord among its troops, both regular and irregular, make one wonder wheth any ruler could have brought the movement to a successful issu and it is noteworthy that David Ó Bruadair in his poem entitl "The Shipwreck," attributes the final disaster, not to James's i efficiency, but to Irish disorder. The Comte d'Avaux's letters a themselves a rich source of information concerning this poverty, di union, and bad organisation (*e.g.*, pp. 92, 139, 220, 389, 564, 565, 741 nevertheless in reading them one feels that had a man of the Frenc Ambassador's own ability and clearsightedness been at the head affairs, the disorder might have been overcome and a better plan campaign adopted. Early in the war the Comte d'Avaux had clear seen the possibility of holding Connacht and part of Munster and ther awaiting French help (p. 387). Sarsfield later was to prove th practicality of this suggestion, but he was to prove it more against th will than with the assistance of those in authority. Had Jame possessed D'Avaux's ability, or had D'Avaux himself not been replace by Lauzun as French Ambassador, Sarsfield would have had a bette chance of final success. Indeed one of the best proofs of the Comt d'Avaux's sound judgment was his early recognition of Sarsfield' qualities as a military commander (p. 519).

Among the many interesting documents included in the *Négociation* is the well known memoir on the Irish situation written by a followe

[1] *The Poems of David Ó Bruadair*, ed. Rev. J. C. MacErlean, S.J., Part III, poem xiii, § 14.

lldearg O'Donnell. Balldearg, till he deserted to the Williamites, an extremist among extremists. It is interesting, therefore, te that there is no mention in the document of any desire on the of the extremists to disown allegiance to a rightful king of England. er they complain that, because their loyalty had been distrusted, r use had not been made of the services they were ready to give. n avoit voulu employer les Ultoniens au commencement de cette ere revolution," writes Balldearg's follower (p. 737), "le Roy gleterre seroit aujourdhuy maistre de toute l'Irlande." The difference in the question of loyalty between New and Old Irish ear from various passages in the *Négociations*: if all hope of ring James were lost, the New Irish would probably have preferred otance of the Usurper (p. 739) to severance of the connection with and; the Old Irish, on the other hand, would have chosen that country should become a dependency of France (p. 50) rather of the Usurper's England.

t is clear, therefore, that the only prospect of a united Ireland n a Jacobite victory. Irish patriots of that day had no problem vided allegiance to solve; for in James three loyalties coincided: lty to king, to country, and to religion.

n an interesting introduction Professor James Hogan has cleared 'Avaux of the charges of bigotry made against him by Macaulay others. He has also given information concerning the rare original ted volume of which the volume now issued by the Irish Manuscript mission is a facsimile reproduced by the reflex process. This rmation has been added to in the correspondence columns of the es *Literary Supplement* (August 22, 1935), since the publication ne facsimile.

The Irish Manuscripts Commission announce that they have in aration a supplement and an index to the *Négociations*. The x, when it appears, will make it much easier for research workers erive full value from the book. G. M.

*TORY OF MEDIAEVAL PHILOSOPHY*. By Maurice De Wulf. Translated from the Sixth French Edition by Ernest C. Messenger, Ph. D. Vol. I. From the Beginnings to the End of the Twelfth Century. London: Longmans. 1935. Pp. 317. 12s. 6d.

appearance of an English translation of the sixth edition of M. Wulf's *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale* within a year of the ication of the French original is a significant sign of the increase nglish-speaking countries (as everywhere) of interest in Scholastic osophy. M. De Wulf's *History* has been for a long time one of the dard works on the history of medieval philosophy. It has been

familiar to English readers in the translations of Dr. Coffey, Profe of Philosophy at Maynooth, and in that of the present translat rendering of an earlier edition. Dr. Coffey's translation of the th French edition appeared in 1909. As recently as 1926 Dr. Messen published his translation of the much amplified and revised fi French edition.

It may be truly said, however, that this third English editi based on the sixth French edition (1934), is to a great extent a n work. This is true not only in the sense that this latest edition thoroughly up-to-date. For in the work before us M. De Wulf, deference to the criticisms directed against former editions, has last abandoned that system which he for so long championed. Hithe he was at pains to construct a synthesis of *Scholastic* Philosophy fr the many divergent schools of thought of the Middle Ages. refused to admit that Scholastic Philosophy and Medieval Philosop could be identified. But in his own personal synthesis, those w held views which were irreconcilable with those of the " communi loquentes " were refused admittance to the sanctum of the *Philosop perennis*. Some were classed as *non*-Scholastics ; others with Johann Scottus Eriugena at their head were styled *anti*-Scholastics.

In this latest edition M. De Wulf reluctantly but graciously abando this system—at least in so far as it is made the basis of a history medieval philosophy. The result is unquestionably that, while t work loses in interest as a study in what may be called philosop of history, it gains considerably as a contribution to the history philosophy. With the relinquishing of the personal, synthetic charact a new objectivity and fulness for the work is won. Full justice is do to all thinkers, whether they be in harmony with the majority or n

It will be readily seen then that while this new edition supersed in one way the former editions, in another way the older editio retain their value. In them only will be found in full that synthe of common scholastic thought which, even if it belong not proper to the history of philosophy, is none the less stimulating and invaluab

The value of this book is very greatly enhanced by its bibliograp of those works which have been published since 1928. For wor which have been published before that year, a selective bibliograp is given. For an exhaustive bibliography of the history of mediev philosophy, the reader is wisely referred to *Ueberweg-Geyer, Grundri der Geschichte der Philosophie* (1928), which for the bibliography this subject must remain standard, if not unique. Further, the bo has profited by the fact that the specialised knowledge of Mgr. Pelz for certain portions has been placed at the disposal of the author.

The expression " *Anglo-Celt* " (pp. 5, 44) is not a happy one, and is regrettable that it should have survived several editions. I mu

ess that I do not know what M. De Wulf means when he writes : e twelfth and thirteenth centuries have moulded the philosophic perament of the Anglo-Celts. . . " F.S.

## Theology and Philosophy

*RAL AND PASTORAL THEOLOGY.* By Henry Davis, S.J. Four Volumes. London : Sheed and Ward. 1935. 30s. Sold separately at 7s. 6d. a volume.

e great service rendered by Fr. Davis in this work will be obvious anybody who glances through its pages. The problems of moral ology are now intensely actual and the subject of much loose thought the press, the drama and the salon. It is being recognised more more amongst the greatest statesmen and writers on social, itical and economic problems that there is clamant need for sound tematic teaching on the problems of conduct for the individual family, the State and high international councils. Yet where is to get such teaching ? And what is to be its basis ? Not in the gueness of modern philosophy nor in the uncertain interpretations Christianity put forward by those who recognise no teaching thority in faith and morals. This is now admitted by many who not within the Church, and they recognise too that the Church ne speaks with consistency, solidity and sure guidance : hence e generous reception by millions of non-Catholics of the great cyclicals of the present and recent Popes on such questions as the cial order, marriage, education, the problems of peace and war and ternational relations.

The four volumes before us deal very thoroughly, after the traditional anner of Catholic moral theologians, with all the vital problems of nduct in the light of revelation and Church teaching. The st volume deals with the definition and scope of moral theology, sources and subject : with human acts, their nature, constituents d obstacles ; with moral, supernatural and meritorious acts ; with nscience, its nature and kinds ; with law, sin and virtue. Here e laid down the general principles which find application in the tails of moral problems and in determining obligation. There is undance of matter here, clear and helpful, for sermons, retreats and techetical instructions. As in all four volumes the traditional teach- g is admirably set out in clear type with helpful sub-headings, so at there is no difficulty in finding at once the Catholic teaching on y specific subject.

The second volume deals with the Commandments of God and e Church, and contains valuable pastoral notes most helpful to the ergy in their work. Of special value is the treatment of medico-

moral problems now much discussed, such as those which the gy cologist has to face in ordinary practice. Here as elsewhere the au follows the approved decisions of the Church and the sound doc of theologians. The chapter on the sixth and ninth Commandm with the appended pastoral sections in Latin, leave little to be de in the treatment of difficult and delicate matter. In appendices to chapter on the fourth Commandment the salient points in the teac of Pius XI on education and the social order are set forth in the w of the encyclicals. The chapter on the seventh and tenth Comm ments contains matter on English law of property and contracts w is not easily found elsewhere. This section alone makes the v indispensable where English laws determine rights and consequ obligations.

Volumes three and four deal with the sacraments in general particular, and here the teaching closely follows the new code of Ca Law and the more recent declarations of the Holy See. Volume th contains four chapters on indulgences—again matter not so ea available in condensed form. Volume four deals very thoroug with the married, clerical and religious states. Under the section matrimony there is a discussion of the Ogino-Knaus theory on the ti of sterility which, while rightly cautious, seems to underestimate degree of probability or certainty attached to some of its findi And in dealing with the fourth difficult problem *de cooperatione onanismo*, the author would be more helpful if he were more compl on the lines of Merkelbach's treatment *de cooperatione viri*.

It is not possible to discuss in detail the author's estimate of t degrees of probability of various opinions on doubtful matters. T reviewer has read carefully all the sections which cause most difficu and can find little to quarrel with. Disputed opinions are treat fairly and judiciously, and that is all one asks. Father Davis deserv the gratitude of all—priests, doctors, lawyers—whose duty it is offer guidance in difficult moral problems. Theological students al will bless Father Davis for lightening the heaviest and most anxio portion of their preparation for the priesthood. And, finally, t publishers must be congratulated and thanked for courageously unde taking the risks attached to the publication of so large a work. T best way, of course, to thank them is to purchase the work, and th we strongly recommend to all who have to deal with moral problems

J. C. J.

*THE PAIN OF THIS WORLD.* By Rev. M. C. D'Arcy, S. London: Longmans. Pp. 150. 5s.

INTEREST in the Problem of Evil, like interest in all perennial topic has its ebbs and flows. At present—it may be due to the economi

ssion or to the apparent inevitability of another Great War—
em to be in for at least a minor spring-tide. We have had articles
cent issues of *Mind* and *Philosophy* and a whole book by Philip
, to mention but a few examples from current literature. Now
s this volume from Father D'Arcy. It is well in the vogue, not
because it is clear that Father D'Arcy had his eye on Mr. Wisdom's
ibution to *Mind*, but also because the book does not profess to
anything startlingly new to say on the problem. Neither have
ther recent contributors.

'he Problem of Evil is essentially a theistic problem. It is the
lem of reconciling the existence of so much sin and suffering in
world with the Goodness and Wisdom of the Creator. Why, if
s so good and so powerful, did He not make a better world ? Or
er : ought He not, morally speaking, to have made a better world
lse made none at all ? The traditional answer to the first part
ese questions is that there is no answer, because we cannot probe
ie motives with our puny human intellects and He Himself has
deigned to enlighten us by Revelation. The answer to the second
tion is that God couldn't have made the present world any better
it is without having made it a totally different *kind* of world from
beginning, and that He is justified in making this present world
is because the amount of evil in it is hypothetically unavoidable,
actually outweighed by the amount of good in it. The attack on
position may be along any of three fronts : usually it is along all
e. It is asserted that minor improvements are possible in this
ld of ours, improvements that do not involve any change of essential
cture in the world. It is asserted that the sum total of evils in
world outweighs that of good. And it is asserted that Ethics
ires one to prefer a course of action that is very good to one that
ist good, and hence that God ought to have made a better kind of
ld even though He could—if He had no other choice—make this one
nout doing wrong. Such in outline is the position reviewed by
her D'Arcy.

And Father D'Arcy reviews the position very thoroughly. He
s so in the form of an imagined debate between various types of
d—a Christian philosopher, a scientist, an agnostic, a mystic, an
st and a priest. In this way he is able to present the difficulties
their palliatives from every important angle. He shirks none
he emphasises none. In fact, he leaves you almost wondering
at his personal views on each are, especially as he ends up on the
ached note that what really matters is not an academic solution
ong the savants but an effort on the part of each one of us to alleviate
fering and sin as far as in him lies. Herein, therefore, lies the first
at merit of the book. It leaves the reader with a vital grasp of all

the issues at stake. Its second great merit is its style. It combi grace and charm with a crystal clearness that makes it very read It should, therefore, appeal to the ordinary reader as well as t intellectuals. Lastly, it is not a harrowing book. It does not u line the sufferings of animals and helpless human beings as so r other writers on the problem are apt to do in an effort to make fe run away with reason and prejudge the issue.

If God is to be justified, it is admittedly necessary that the good c surpass the evil for each single human being, unless he himself is the cause of some of that evil. I wonder is it equally necessary tha pleasures of life should outweigh its pains in the case of each si animal. What then of the case of the tinker's donkey or the vivise dog ?

C.

*SEPT LECONS SUR L'ETRE* et les Premiers Principes d Raison Spéculative. Jacques Maritain. Paris : Téqui. 1 15 fr.

THIS is rather an original introduction to Metaphysics—origina style and treatment, though not in matter. It aims at showing w is the object of metaphysics, what aspect ("inspect" M. Mari suggests) of things this science looks for, by what processes and w faculties it reaches that aspect, how is that object expressed in guage, what first principles are based on it. In other words the b deals with the notion of *ens*, with the transcendentals and the principles.

But to say that is to give no idea of the value and interest, even originality of the book. It is that rare enough thing—a b on metaphysics written with distinction of style, with a passion conviction, with almost enthusiasm. Its aim is quite different f Père Marc's *L' Idée de l' Etre*, which is a close historical study of senses in which *ens* has been understood by different schools wit scholasticism. M. Maritain is an orthodox, conservative Thom and he accepts the Thomistic notion of *ens* as his starting-poi but as he does not treat of analogy, much of his book will be gener acceptable. He is at pains to distinguish scrupulously the true fr the false coin of metaphysics, marking off clearly the Being of prim experience—the Being of Science, the Being of Logic, and the Be of some modern pseudo-metaphysics—from the Being which is object of realistic metaphysics, which founds the universal valid of first principles. This is, of course, a step of incalculable importanc on which the whole value of the science depends.

The third and fourth chapters, which are the best in the bo aim at conveying to the reader what is this *ens*, this Being, which the object of metaphysics. M. Maritain's starting-point is an expe

a vision, an intuition (using the word in a non-scholastic sense), *isation eidétique* (to use his not too happy phrase) in which is the full, infinitely varied, inexhaustible consistency and tenacity lity, which is inadequately expressed by *ens*. To some it comes mystical experience. Kant never reached this reality ; Bergson's ion is not intellectual enough. It must be justified by rational sis. But it is this view or vision that makes the metaphysician. rocesses by which this view of reality is reached, the progressive of purification by which the abstractive power of mind penetrates gh the different strata of materialization to the pure intelligible cellently described and with a sure and full psychology. The hree chapters are devoted to a " deduction " of the first principles n are based on *ens* and the transcendentals. Especially brilliant e treatment of the principle of finality.

he *Sept Lecons* is meant as an introduction. But a " proficient " ind a good deal which, if not exactly new, is original and suggestive eatment. He will find in M. Maritain's book a union of profundity brilliancy ; ultimate things dealt with in a style that is precise accurate, yet personal and distinguished. This book will certainly ase M. Maritain's reputation. H. K.

## Books Received

EO, FATHER. Blessed Gemma Galgani. (Burns Oates, 12/6).
VILLE, JACQUES. Les Dictateurs. (Denoel et Steele, 15 fr.).
AGUY, PAUL. Bayard, 1476-1524. (Payot, 25 fr.).
SSI, L. Problemi fondamentali dello Stato corporativo. (Vita e Pensiero, L. 10).
JA, PIO. Zalacaín el Aventurero. (Black, 3/6).
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DR. JAKOB. Einfuehring in die Theologie. (Herder, M.4.50).
E, MARCEL DE. Aristote et Plotin. (Desclée De Brouwer, 20 fr.).
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IC, ROBERT. Le Message de Lyautey. (Editions Spes, 7 fr. 50).
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Pender. (Stationery Office, 3/6).
LE TIERS-ORDRE DE SAINT FRANCOIS. Conférences aux Novices. (Lethielleux, 12 fr.)

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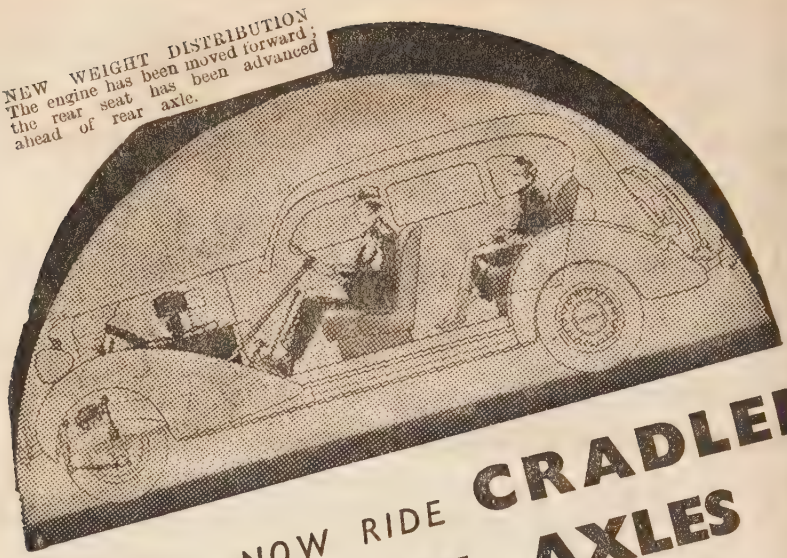


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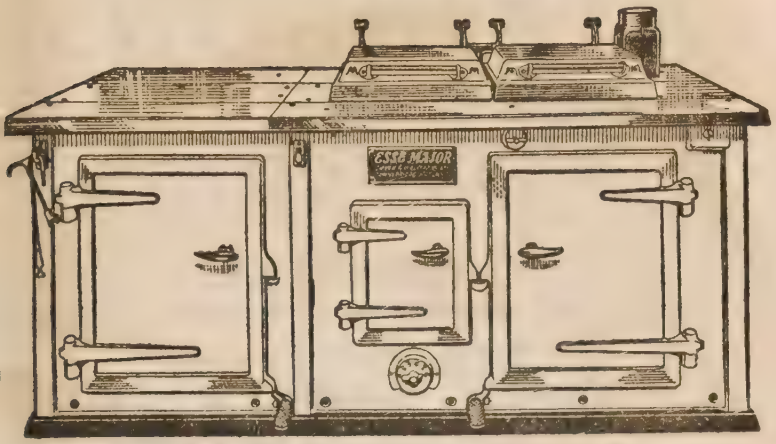


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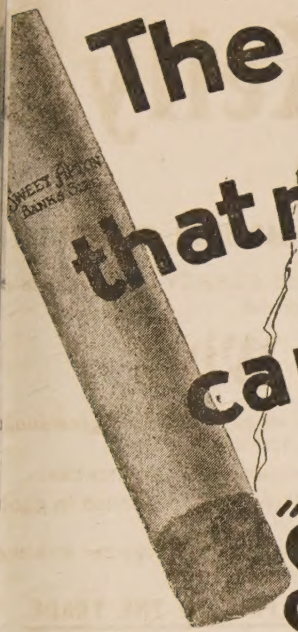


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